FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 196 *8 October 1982*

ALBANIA

Tirana Reports USSR's Ilichev in PRC for Talks B 1
Greetings Message on PRC National Day B 1
[ZERI I POPULLIT 1 Oct]
Mihali Meets Austrian Trade Delegation F 1
AWWY Congress Ends, New First Secretary Named B 1

BULGARIA

Foreign Minister Mladenov Returns From New York C 1
Politburo Approves Results of Husak Visit C 1
State Council Makes Diplomatic Changes C 1
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 Oct]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Soviet Defense Minister Ustinov Continues Visit D 1
Tours Military College D 1
Addresses Students, Soldiers D 1
Leaders Send Congratulations to FRG's Kohl D 2
Indra Concludes Managua Visit, Flies to Mexico D 2
Meets Nicaragua's Ortega D 2
Addresses State Council D 2
Arrives in Mexico City D 3
'Frequent Senselessness' Seen in CPC Congress D 3
[Trefny in Bratislava PRAVDA 24 Sep]
China's 'Anti-Soviet Hegemonist Policy' Decried D 5
[Cebis in RUDE PRAVO 17 Sep]
International Ideological Symposium Opens D 7
[RUDE PRAVO 6 Oct]
Kapek Returns From Visit to Romania 7 Oct D 7

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Reportage on National Day Celebrations E 1
Fischer Hosts Reception at UN E 1
Leaders Receive Greetings E 1
Berlin Military Parade E 1
Honecker Speaks at Reception E 3
Hoffmann Presents Awards [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Oct] E 4
Briefs: USSR Strip Mine Equipment; Ship Production; Polish Naval Visit E 5

HUNGARY

Reportage on the Visit of DRA's Karmal F 1
Kadar Banquet Speech [Kabul BAKHTAR] F 1
Karmal Banquet Speech [Kabul BAKHTAR] F 3
Party Cooperation Agreement [Kabul BAKHTAR] F 5
Losonczi, Karmal Tour Factory F 5

Ministerial Meetings [Kabul BAKHTAR] F 6
National Groups' Leaders Meet [Kabul BAKHTAR] F 6
Karmal Meets WFDY Leaders F 6
Cooperation Agreement Signed F 7
'Text' of Joint Communique [Kabul BAKHTAR] F 7
Officials Present at Departure F 11
Economic Talks With U.S. Representatives F 11

POLAND

Warsaw Previews Agenda of Sejm Session G 1
Commentator on TU Movement Revival, Sejm Session G 1
Spokesman Urban Answers Questions on Union Bill [AFP] G 2
French Daily on New Trade Union Law G 3
[Margueritte in Paris LE FIGARO 6 Oct]
Rakowski Meets With Pabianice Workers 7 Oct G 4
Speaks on Solidarity, TU Law G 5
Solidarity Discourages Demonstrations 8 Oct [AFP] G 14
Security Forces Boost Presence in Warsaw [AFP] G 14
Former Student Activist Surrenders, Is Released G 15
PAP: 'Anarchistic Trends' Prompted Crackdown G 15
POLITYKA Comments on Artists' Boycott of Media G 16
['Komentator' 2 Oct]
Jaruzelski Addresses Engineers on Congress Eve G 18
Interior Ministry Officials G 18
Morawski Addresses Christian Activists G 18
Third Quarter Progress Report Published G 19
Central Control Commission Session Held 6 Oct G 20
Plenum Resolution G 21
ZSL Supreme Committee Holds Plenum 7 Oct G 21
Delegation Departs for Vatican Ceremonies G 22
Press Conference on Foreign Trade Situation G 22
Report on Olszowski's Visit to Colombia G 22
More on Visit G 23
TRYBUNA LUDU on U.S. Ideological Offensive G 23
APN Analyzes Reagan's 'Project Truth' G 24
[Volkgonov in TRYBUNA LUDU 4 Oct]
TRYBUNA LUDU Reviews CPC Congress [24 Sep] G 26
Daily Reports Start of Sino-Soviet Talks G 29
[TRYBUNA LUDU 5 Oct]

ROMANIA

Andrei Addresses Group of 77 in New York H 1
U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Ends Visit H 2
Romanian-Chinese Economic Talks in Beijing H 2
[SCINTEIA 5 Oct]
Ceausescu Chairs RCP Central Committee Plenum H 3
Discovery of Crude Oil Deposit Reported H 3

YUGOSLAVIA

Military Exercises Have 'Disquieting Effect' I 1
[Sosic in VJESNIK 4 Oct]
Mojsov Meets With Foreign Dignitaries at UN I 1
Group of 77 I 2
PRC's Huang Hua I 2
Various Representatives I 2

Albanian Youth Congress' 'Slanders' Assailed I 3
[ZERI I RINISE]
Bulgarian Delegation Attends Serbian SAWP Meeting I 4
Planinc, Smole Meet American Journalists I 4
LCY Presidium Meets, Discusses Recent CC Session I 5
Stojanovic Rejects Charges of Disunity in LCY I 6
Party Expulsions Analyzed I 7
[Torov in BORBA 30 Sep]
Koncar Controversy Debated by Belgrade Committee I 8
[Milosevic in NIN 3 Oct]
LC in Serbia Issues Warnings, Acts Against Judges I 10
[BORBA 4 Oct]

TIRANA REPORTS USSR'S ILICHEV IN PRC FOR TALKS

AU061401 Tirana Domestic Service in Albania 2100 GMT 5 Oct 82

[Text] Referring to a declaration issued by the Chinese Foreign Ministry yesterday, news agencies report that a Soviet delegation headed by Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union Leonid Ilichev has gone to the Chinese capital. As emphasized in the above report, the Soviet and Chinese Governments have decided that consultations should take place on Sino-Soviet relations. Agencies report that it is anticipated that these talks will be held in secrecy.

GREETINGS MESSAGE ON PRC NATIONAL DAY

AU071307 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Oct 82 p 4

[Text] To the Standing Committee of People's National Assembly of the People's Republic of China, the State Council of the People's Republic of China:

On occasion of the anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China we send the Chinese people our greetings.

[Signed] The Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Tirana 30 September 1982

MIHALI MEETS AUSTRIAN TRADE DELEGATION

AU0602024 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Text] Qirjako Mihali, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received today the Austrian Government trade delegation led by Dr Josef Staribacher, minister of industry, commerce and handicrafts. The reception was attended by Foreign Trade Minister Nedin Hoxha and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Sokrat Plaka. Norbert Linhart, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Austria to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present.

The Austrian Government trade delegation left our country today. The delegation was bid farewell at the airport by Minister of Foreign Trade Nedin Hoxha, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Myzafer Ahmati and by Idriz Bardhi, deputy director of a directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This morning the Austrian guests visited the National History Museum in Tirana. They were accompanied by Minister of Foreign Trade Nedin Hoxha.

AUWY CONGRESS ENDS, NEW FIRST SECRETARY NAMED

AU061754 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Excerpt] The Sixth Session of the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania [AUWY] opened at 1700 hours. Comrade Lumturi Rexha, who presided at the session, announced the winners of the socialist competitions organized by the AUWY Central Committee on the occasion of the Eighth AUWY Congress. She also announced the composition of the Bureau and Secretariat of the AUWY Central Committee.

The congress was declared closed in a brief speech delivered by Comrade Mehmet Elezi, first secretary of the AUWY Central Committee.

FOREIGN MINISTER MLADENOV RETURNS FROM NEW YORK

AU072040 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] On 7 October Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, returned from New York where he took part in the 37th UN General Assembly session. At Sofia airport he was greeted by Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

POLITBURO APPROVES RESULTS OF HUSAK VISIT

AU062016 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Text] The BCP Central Committee Politburo has heard information on the official and friendly visit to Bulgaria of a CSSR party-state delegation led by Gustav Husak, which took place from 21 to 23 September, and on the talks this delegation had with the Bulgarian party-state delegation led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo assessed highly the talks, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of firm unity and full mutual understanding and unity of thought on all matters discussed. The talks expressed the firm determination of the two fraternal parties and countries to further comprehensively strengthen and expand the Bulgarian-CSSR relations on the basis of the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Bulgaria and the CSSR, and in the interest of their peoples. The decisive importance of the meetings at the highest level in this respect was stressed.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo approved the agreements reached on further and comprehensively strengthening and expanding the relations between the BCP and the CPCZ. The Politburo stressed the great importance attributed by Bulgaria and the CSSR to their fraternal friendship, alliance and comprehensive cooperation with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community. This is the main guarantee of preserving world peace. Bulgaria and the CSSR also expressed their firm determination to further make their contribution to strengthening the unity, cohesion and unity of action of the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA member countries.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo instructed the appropriate party and state organs to adopt concrete measures for consistently implementing the agreements reached during the visit of the CSSR party-state delegation. Confidence was expressed that the results of the Bulgarian-CSSR talks will contribute to further expanding and strengthening the comprehensive relations between the BCP and the CPCZ, and between Bulgaria and the CSSR, and will be a new stimulus for elevating them onto a higher level and for increasing the power and unity of the socialist community and for the cause of peace and socialism in Europe and the world.

STATE COUNCIL MAKES DIPLOMATIC CHANGES

AU071325 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Oct 82 p 2

[Text] The State Council has relieved Vladimir Medarov of his post as Bulgarian ambassador to the Libyan Socialist People's Arab Jamahiriya. Filip Borisov Ishpekov is appointed ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the Libyan Socialist People's Arab Jamahiriya.

Petko Todorov Karadzhov is relieved of his post as Bulgarian ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and is appointed ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Argentina.

Purvan Aleksandrov Chernev is relieved of his post as Bulgarian ambassador to the Federal Republic of Brazil. Dimitur Todorov Traykov is appointed ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the Federal Republic of Brazil.

SOVIET DEFENSE MINISTER USTINOV CONTINUES VISIT

Tours Military College

LD071438 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] The visit of the Soviet military delegation, headed by Marshal Dmitriy Ustinov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, in the Technical Military College of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship in Liptovsky Mikulas culminated in a friendship meeting with the students of the college and members of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

Taking part in the meeting was Jozef Lenart, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other party and state representatives. Also present was Army General Martin Dzur, minister of national defense, and other military officials.

Addresses Students, Soldiers

LD072132 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] The Soviet military delegation headed by Marshal Dmitriy Ustinov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister visited Slovakia today. The delegation visited the Technical Military College of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship in Liptovsky Mikulas where the highest representatives of the Soviet Army viewed the instruction and training base. The visit culminated in a friendship meeting with the students of the college and members of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

Army General Martin Dzur, minister of national defense, said in his speech that the visitor of the Soviet military delegation is evidence of the deepening of the unity of our countries and of the combat international alliance of the Warsaw Pact states. He recalled the fight of our units at Dukla, side by side with soldiers of the famous Soviet Army, 38 years ago in which our liberation was born, and stressed that Dukla is also an expression of permanent identification with the bequest of Great October, which opened to mankind a way to the new stage of its development.

Then Comrade Dmitriy Ustinov addressed the participants in the meeting. He conveyed to all members of the Czechoslovak People's Army warm greetings from Leonid Brezhnev and also from the soldiers of the Soviet Army. He said that the eternal memory of the dead heroes is also today an example and source of struggle for the fulfilment of the program of the construction of socialism and communism. Achievements of our fraternal countries in economy, science, technology, culture and also in increasing the living standard of the people, said Comrade Dmitriy Ustinov, document the changing power of the great ideals of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

In connection with the current international situation, Comrade Ustinov said that the socialist countries do everything to maintain and strengthen peace in the world.

In conclusion, the USSR minister of defense wished the members of the Czechoslovak People's Army all the best in combat and political training in the interest of strengthening the defense capability of Czechoslovakia and of the whole socialist community.

The meeting was a convincing manifestation of indestructible friendship of the two fraternal armies.

The delegation of the highest representatives of the Soviet Army then visited the Carpathian-Dukla tank unit awarded with the Red Star Order. The Soviet guests arrived in Bratislava later in the afternoon.

LEADERS SEND CONGRATULATIONS TO FRG'S KOHL

AU071314 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 82 p 1

[Text] Prague, 5 Oct (CTK) -- CSSR President Gustav Husak and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal congratulated Helmut Kohl on the latter's election as federal chancellor of the FRG.

INDRA CONCLUDES MANAGUA VISIT, FLIES TO MEXICO

Meets Nicaragua's Ortega

LD080930 Prague CTK in English 0807 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] Managua (CETEKA correspondent) [no date as received] -- Before leaving for Mexico yesterday, head of the Czechoslovak parliamentary delegation, Federal Assembly Chairman Alois Indra had talks with coordinator of the steering council of the Nicaraguan Government Daniel Ortega.

Alois Indra confirmed Czechoslovakia's solidarity with the Nicaraguan people's struggle against continuous attempts of the U.S. administration to undermine the process of consolidation of the Sandinist revolution. He said the visit also confirmed identity or closeness of views of the two countries on current international issues.

Daniel Ortega spoke of the important part played by Mexico and Venezuela in seeking a settlement of the situation in Central America and added that the Nicaraguan Government had replied positively to their proposal to discuss normalization directly with the Honduran president. Daniel Ortega stressed Nicaragua's great interest in further developing economic cooperation and trade with Czechoslovakia, which would help very much in overcoming the consequences of U.S. discriminatory measures.

Addresses State Council

LD071756 Prague CTK in English 1700 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Managua (CETEKA correspondent) [no date as received] -- The talks between the visiting Czechoslovak parliamentary delegation and officials of the Nicaraguan State Council showed full identity of views on all international and bilateral questions discussed, head of the delegation Alois Indra, chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, said.

He stressed that Czechoslovakia always sympathized with the valiant struggle of the Nicaraguan people headed by the Sandinist national liberation front, and admired the successes achieved by the Nicaraguan people in building a new society. Nicaragua is not alone in its efforts to eliminate the flashpoints of tension created in Central America and the Caribbean by the United States, Indra said. It was agreed during the talks that Czechoslovakia and Nicaragua will continue their cooperation in political, economic, cultural and other spheres.

Speaking at a session of the State Council, an appointed body functioning as a parliament in which political parties, social organizations, the church and the armed forces are represented, Alois Indra assured the people of Nicaragua of Czechoslovakia's support for their difficult but just struggle against foreign interference and aggression, against all intrigues of imperialism, particularly of the Reagan administration.

The Czechoslovak delegation also met with representatives of the Patriotic Revolutionary Front, grouping for progressive, left-wing parties. A reception was given in honour of the delegation by State Council Chairman Carlos Nunez Tillez.

Arrives in Mexico City

LD072336 Prague CTK in English 2107 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Mexico City (CETEKA correspondent) [no date as received] -- A delegation of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, led by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Chairman of the Federal Assembly Alois Indra, arrived here Thursday from Nicaragua for an official friendly visit to Mexico.

The Czechoslovak delegation will meet with incumbent Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo and with President-elect Miguel de la Madrid. They will also meet Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castaneda and representatives of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate of the Mexican Congress.

'FREQUENT SENSELESSNESS' SEEN IN CPC CONGRESS

AU051133 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Sep 82 p 6

[Lubomir Trefny commentary: "Reflections of Bitter Disenchantment". Passages in all capitals denotes boldface as published]

[Text] TO CLAIM THAT THE 12TH CPC CONGRESS, WHICH HAD BEEN POSTPONED SEVERAL TIMES, WAS NOTHING BUT THE CULMINATION OF A LONG POWER STRUGGLE ON THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE WOULD MEAN CONSCIOUSLY BYPASSING FACTS THAT TESTIFY TO THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEMS FACED BY CHINA IN THE PAST MONTHS AND YEARS. THE PROBLEMS THAT HAVE ACCUMULATED ARE, INDEED, MANY. THEY ARE ROOTED IN VOLUNTARISM IN CADRE WORK, A PECULIAR "EXPERIMENTAL" APPROACH OT THE ECONOMY AND, LAST BUT NOT LEAST, THE ORIENTATION OF CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY.

The months that preceded the congress, when more than 17 percent of the employees of the 30 departments directly subordinated to the CPC Central Committee lost thier jobs, already suggested the methods by which the CPC Central Committee wants to deal with the accumulated problems. The main motive for these changes and reshuffles -- even though the reasons given are the need to come to terms with the overlapping powers of individual institutions as well as the need to raise the effectiveness of their work -- is, in reality, the endeavor to take a decisive step to eliminate the consequences of the so-called cultural Revolution, in other words, to remove the remnants of the "ulta-leftwingers" from the party and state leadership. Despite a change in the structure of the CPC highest bodies, the congress essentially fortified only the positions of the two most powerful men in the country -- Hu Yaobang and Deng Xiaoping. The first, as is known, became at the congress general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, the other chairman of its military commission.

In his opening congress speech, Deng Xiaoping formulated the four most important tasks to be resolved, as he said, by the end of the century. THESE ARE: TO CHANGE THE STRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRY'S ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC BASE; TO ENHANCE THE PARTY CADRES' REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT, TO LOWER THEIR AGE AND TO IMPROVE THEIR EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS; TO HALT ALL CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES IN THE ECONOMY AND OTHER AREAS BECAUSE THEY ERODE SOCIALISM; AND TO RECTIFY THE STYLE OF PARTY WORK AND TO CONSOLIDATE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS ON THE BASIS OF DETAILED ANALYSIS.

In this connection it is surely not useless to note that Deng Xiaoping described the 12th CPC Congress as the second most important party session since the seventh congress in 1945, which was chaired by Mao Zedong. This parallel was drawn several times at the congress, which basically confirms the line of the Beijing leadership -- to condemn the practice of Maoism but to preserve its theory. A sharp turnabout in the ideological orientation would, in Beijing's view, contravene the leadership's intentions, upset its relative stability and, in the current situation when all kinds of small and larger-scale reforms are being applied in the economic sector, deepen the Chinese people's distrust of the party and state leadership. Strictly speaking, talking about people's upset trust presupposes that such trust exists in the first place. WHEN ON THE EVE OF THE CONGRESS, IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE AFP AGENCY, HU YAOBANG CLAIMED THAT THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHINA WOULD BE STABLE UP TO THE END OF THE CENTURY, HE WAS VOICING HIS WISH RATHER THAN TALKING ABOUT FACTS REFLECTING THE EXISTING REALITY.

In connection with the 12th CPC Congress, perhaps the greatest attention was focused on the part of the deliberations that dealt with the foreign political situation and with China's standing in the present world. It can be said that the congress has brought nothing new in this respect. That is true not only of the part in which statements were presented and of the congress conclusions, but also of the terminology that was used. As always in the recent period, the word hegemonism, which appeared several times in Hu Yaobang's speech, was used as a codeword for the Soviet Union. According to the report on foreign policy and the CPC's international relations, it is the Soviet Union that "seriously endangers peace in Asia" and, reportedly, is not taking any practical steps to normalize relations with China. HOWEVER, THE TRUE REASON WHY THE ROUND TABLES HAVE BEEN VACATED AGAIN REMAINED CONCEALED AT THE CPC CONGRESS. EQUALLY, THE CONGRESS FAILED TO REVEAL WHO IT IS THAT OWES AN ANSWER TO THE PROPOSALS SUBMITTED AT THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS AND IN TASHKENT THIS MARCH AND WHO IT WAS THAT SUSPENDED THE CHINESE-VIETNAMESE TALKS. Instead, publicity was given to a "political declaration of principle" containing the demand to fulfill three conditions for normalizing Sino-Soviet relations (that the Soviet Union stop support for Vietnam's internationalist aid granted to Kampuchea, that it withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and, finally, that it stop allegedly threatening China's borders). "When these three problems are resolved," declared Hu Yaobang, "we will be ready to establish relations of good neighborliness."

The congress described as one of the most urgent tasks confronting the CPC the reunification of Taiwan with China. A great Sino-American diplomatic hassle has recently been created over this issue. For many years Beijing did not mind that the United States, in fact, always championed the theory of "two Chinas" and politically and militarily supported both Beijing and Taepei, in line with its interests in this part of the world. DESPITE THE FACT THAT ON THE EVE OF THE CONGRESS HU YAOBANG EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH THE SINO-AMERICAN COMMUNIQUE ON SALES OF AMERICAN ARMS TO THE REGIME IN TAIWAN, THE 12TH CPC CONGRESS AGAIN BROUGHT UP THIS SUBJECT, NOTING THAT A SHADOW STILL HOVERS OVER SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. BEIJING, WHICH CLAIMS SOVEREIGNTY OVER TAIWAN, VIEWS WASHINGTON'S CONDUCT AS INTERFERENCE IN CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS. At the congress, no one formulated a sharper statement on this issue.

The congress noted that the program of modernization must proceed from the realities existing in the country. Basically, this demand only reflected disappointment with the economic policy implemented in the past few years. Part and parcel of this policy was, and for the time being remains, the opening of doors to the West. This open-door-policy has quite obviously yielded also the infiltration of Western ideology to China. In his opening speech, Deng Xiaoping noted in this context: "No foreign state can expect that China will swallow any bitter pill damaging to Chinese interests. We will unshakably pursue the policy of making China more accessible to the outside world and will actively step up exchanges with foregin countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. AT THE SAME TIME WE WILL RETAIN A CLEAR MIND, WILL CONSISTENTLY DEFEND OURSELVES AGAINST DISRUPTION IN THE FORM OF DECADENT FOREIGN IDEAS AND WILL NEVER ALLOW THE BOURGEOIS WAY OF LIFE TO SPREAD IN OUR COUNTRY."

The question suggests itself: Can this part of Deng's speech be interpreted as coming to one's senses after the embarking on an incorrect path of Chinese economic development or is it merely a general statement designed to prove that China is truly a people's republic that acts in the interest of the people and not against it? It is a fact that similar statements, in various variations, could be heard from Beijing more than once in the past. Yet they were followed by deeds that fundamentally differed from them. In this case, too, the future, which will bring convincing facts and arguments, will probably provide the best commentary.

The course of the 12th CPC Congress reflected a certain embitterment of the Chinese party leadership over the country's domestic political and economic development. It mirrored the frequent senselessness of its experiments, its repeated search for and failure to find paths which history had confirmed a long time ago. However, the mirror the congress held up reflects the Chinese leadership's own image and the people's disenchantment, the disenchantment of people who, so far, have scarcely been reckoned with in Chinese policy.

CHINA'S 'ANTI-SOVIET HEGEMOMONIST POLICY' DECRIED

AU050930 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Sep 82 p 6

[Vladimir Cebis article: "The 12th CPC Congress and the PRC's Foreign Policy": passages in uppercase published in boldface]

[Text] THE 12TH CPC CONGRESS, HELD AT THE BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER, TOOK PLACE IN AN EXTREMELY SERIOUS AND COMPLICATED INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, IN WHICH REAGAN'S GOVERNMENT WAS UNLEASHING AGAINST THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES OF THE WORLD A REACTIONARY OFFENSIVE IN WHICH IT WAS ALSO RELYING ON UTILIZING THE "JOINT INTERESTS" OF BEIJING AND IMPERIALISM. MOREOVER, THE CONGRESS WAS HELD IN A PERIOD SIGNIFICANT ALSO FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA ITSELF. THE CONGRESS CAME TO PASS 6 YEARS AFTER THE LIQUIDATION OF THE SO-CALLED GANG OF FOUR, HEADED BY JIANG QING, MAO ZEDONG'S WIDOW; 5 YEARS AFTER THE 11TH CONGRESS; AND 4 YEARS AFTER THE THIRD CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION WHICH ADOPTED THE DENG XIAOPING LINE IN THE CPC'S DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY. THE CONVENING OF THE 12TH CONGRESS WAS POSTPONED SEVERAL TIMES, THIS WAS SUPPOSED TO BE CONNECTED WITH THE CONTINUING, VERY SERIOUS DOMESTIC-POLITICAL FIGHT.

At the same time it was a period when a certain deviation occured in the PRC from a whole number of voluntarist slogans and methods which had been discredited mainly at the time of the "great leap forward" and of the "cultural revolution." This applies to the economic spheres and to the structure of the party and the state. At the same time the great power-nationlist strategic orientation is being consolidated. The multisectoral economy is being reactivated, private business activities are being encouraged. The rightwing tendency is being strengthened also by the continuing "open door" policy, which offers considerable opportunities to foreign capitalist companies. The rather low living standards and the unemployment (about 27 million people) continue, as do dozens of other, very weighty economic and domestic-political problems.

Judging by the speech delivered by Hu Yaobang, CPC Central Committee general secretary, at the 12th congress regarding its foreign policy, "China intends to pursue an independent foreign policy and does not want to join any power or powergroup. Together with the other countries of the Third World, China intends to fight against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism."

In his brief opening statement, Deng set down the sequence of the tasks facing the CPC as follows:

(1) To carry out socialist modernization;

(2) To strive for the reannexation [opetne pripojeni] of Taiwan;

(3) To fight against hegemonism;

(4) To ensure world peace.

It can be said outright that scarcely anybody in the world would be surprised were the present Chinese leadership really to modify, at least partially, what has up to now been its onesided orientation toward cooperation with the United States and other imperialist countries. Mighty China, with its population going into billions, must necessarily play second fiddle in this alliance; and so far this humiliating PRC relationship has yielded nothing positive. It is the price which the Chinese leadership is paying for its Maoist anti-Soviet hegemonist policy, for its cooperation with international imperialism, and especially American imperialism.

For instance, let us look at the matter of the country's unification, a dream in which the Chinese leadership most certainly has been promising itself the gaining of certain concessions from the American side in return for its foreign-political course. But what is the reality?

At the congress, relations with the United States were declared "beneficial for the people of the two countries"; but it was stressed that sovereignty, territorial integrity and the principle of nonintervention in internal affairs must be respected. By treating Taiwan as an "independent political formation" and by selling it weapons, the United States is "violating Chinese sovereignty and interfering in Chinese internal affairs."

As we know, not so long ago, the aggravation of America-Chinese relations in this connection was being called a deep crisis. For instance, Deng himself declared that the materialization of the sale of spare parts for further fighter planes to Taiwan would "encounter China's sharp reaction." Li Xiannian, deputy premier of the Chinese Government, said: "We will never permit anybody to violate our country's sovereignty, to interfere in our internal affairs and to obstruct our country's unification." The central Chinese press was constantly reiterating, with minor variations, that "China hopes that no such retrogress (in bilateral relations) would take place; But should such a situation be foisted on China, it could not be helped. After all, something like that is neither very terrible, nor inconveivable for China."

In the end the entire affair was again temporarily settled by yet another joint American-Chinese declaration, that of 17 August 1982; on the one hand, it resolves nothing, and on the other it involves such a double-faced, ambiguous text (this, of course, was on purpose) that from the very start it has led to completely contradictory interpretations and to other disputes.

So far, even Beijing's notions that the mass influx of foreign capital, of technical documentation and Western managerial knowledge would cause a rapid upsurge of Chinese economy and of the deliveries of Western technology have not materialized. So far the people in China instead are pointing out the unfavorable influence of the Western penetration. At the congress, Hu was forced to acknowledge the "disintegrating influence of bourgeois ideology" and the necessity to "fight against kowtowing to abroad." Deng, too, stressed in the opening speech that in learning from other countries, the PRC must "keep a clear head," that it "must firmly resist the corrosion of decadent ideas from abroad and never permit the bourgeois way of life to spread in the country."

If now, at the CPC congress, one spoke of "independence," of the "autonomy" of the foreign-political course, this to a certain extent could also reflect the bitter knowledge acquired during the development of the "special course" to date. And perhaps quite a few outstanding Chinese representatives today again realize that the PRC was achieving a real upsurge exactly at the time it was relying on selfless cooperation, based on equal rights, with the socialist countries.

In connection with the 12th CPC Congress, the world attention is concentrated, for understandable reasons, above all on the further development of USSR-PRC relations.

So far, the PRC on principle has not replied to the Soviet proposals which followed from the 26th CPSU Congress and were further developed in the Soviet Government's message of March 1981, and to other specific proposals of the USSR's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It also failed to unambiguously voice its opinion on such a significant initiative as L.I. Brezhnev's speech in Tashkent on 24 March of this year.

At the same time, on the part of the Soviet Union we have an absolutely principled and lasting policy, without any deviations for expedient reasons.

Above all, it is a matter of adopting measures which would contribute toward the overall improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations, specifically on the basis of principles based on equal rights and which are acceptable to both sides, without preliminary conditions. It is a matter of normalizing bilateral relations in the name of peace throughout the world.

There is also no doubt about the attitude of other socialist states. Their position was reiterated and reaffirmed time and again.

L.I. Brezhnev's words, spoken at the 26th CPSU Congress, continue to be valid: "SHOULD SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS REMAIN FROZEN, IT WILL NOT BE OUR ATTITUDE THAT WILL BE TO BLAME. THE SOVIET UNION WAS NOT AND IS NOT SEEKING A CONFRONTATION WITH THE PRC... WE WOULD LIKE TO BUILD UP CONTACTS WITH IT ON THE BASIS OF GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS. OUR PROPOSALS FOR NORMALIZING RELATIONS WITH CHINA REMAIN VALID, IN THE SAME WAY THAT NOTHING CHANGES IN OUR RESPECT AND FRIENDSHIP FOR THE CHINESE PEOPLE."

Let us also recall comrade G. Husak's speech at the 16th CPCZ Congress, in which he stated: "THE POLICY PURSUED BY THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP IN THE LAST TWO DECADES CAN BRING NO GOOD TO CHINA AND TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE. THE OBJECTIVE INTERESTS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE ARE INSEPARABLY TIED TO SOCIALISM, TO THE ENSURANCE OF A PEACEFUL, CALM LIFE, TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORMAL INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION. AS WE HAVE EMPHASIZED TIME AND AGAIN, CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS PREPARED TO IMPROVE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WITH THE PRC, WHILE CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINING THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY."

INTERNATIONAL IDEOLOGICAL SYMPOSIUM OPENS

AU071441 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 82 p 2

["(Z)"-signed report: "International Symposium"]

[Text] Prague, 5 Oct (Z) -- An international symposium on matters connected with enhancing the theoretical standards and quality of methodological research of topical problems of the international communist and workers movement and of the ideological struggle was opened this Tuesday in Prague. The 2-day deliberations are being attended by representatives of scientific working places and of the communist and workers parties' central committees from 11 countries. The symposium is organized by the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

Milan Matous, deputy director of the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, stressed in the main paper that the aggravation of the class struggle on an international scale is giving urgent tasks also to theoretical research.

It is our endeavor, he said, to concentrate research on acquiring knowledge about the basic dynamic factors of the world development and their specific historic operation. The center of gravity as regards the contents of the research is placed in the study of the world-shaping role of real socialism in the battle for peace, for the protection of civilization and culture against thermonuclear destruction, for a qualitatively higher level of socio-economic and cultural development of human society.

KAPEK RETURNS FROM VISIT TO ROMANIA 7 OCT

LD071418 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] The delegation of the Prague City CPCZ Committee, headed by Antonin Kapek, its chief secretary and member of the PZPR Central Committee Presidium, returned home today from a friendly visit to Bucharest. During the 4-day visit, which took place at the invitation of the Bucharest City Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the representatives of the party organizations of the two capitals exchanged experiences gained from their work and agreed in their interest to further deepen all forms of cooperation.

REPORTAGE ON NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATIONS

Fischer Hosts Reception at UN

LD080748 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1626 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Berlin, 7 Oct (ADN) -- On the occasion of the 33d anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, the diplomatic representations of the GDR abroad gave ceremonial receptions and cocktails. The invitations were accepted by leading representatives of the governments of the host countries and of social life, as well as by the chiefs of diplomatic missions. At press conferences held by GDR representations on the eve of the national day, information was given about the foreign policy activities of the GDR and the achievements of its citizens in socialist development. In numerous countries press, radio and television reported on the successes of the GDR and praised bilateral cooperation.

In New York GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer gave a reception at the GDR representation to the UN. He welcomed the president of the 37th UN General Assembly, Imre Hollai, the undersecretary general, Vyacheslav Ustinov, numerous foreign ministers and further heads of delegations from more than 100 member states.

Exhibitions, film festivals and friendship weeks in various countries were dedicated to the national day of the GDR.

Leaders Receive Greetings

LD071402 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1204 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Berlin, 7 Oct (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has received numerous congratulations from abroad on the 33d founding anniversary of the GDR.

Fraternal greetings and cordial congratulations were sent by the leading representatives of socialist countries. They combine their congratulations with best wishes for GDR workers' continued success in strengthening their socialist fatherland and in the joint struggle to preserve peace, limit arms and for disarmament. The greetings express the firm conviction that relations of friendship and cooperation will continue to develop and be consolidated on an all-round basis.

Congratulations and greetings were also sent by heads of state of other countries. Erich Honecker also received greetings telegrams from leading communist and workers' parties of nonsocialist countries and from representatives of national liberation movements. Congratulations were also sent by representatives of international organizations.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received greetings and good wishes from chairmen of councils of ministers of socialist countries and heads of government of numerous other states.

Horst Sindermann, GDR People's Chamber president, received greetings from parliamentary presidents of many states.

Berlin Military Parade

LD071308 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1020 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Berlin, 7 Oct (ADN) -- Present with Erich Honecker were other members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo, including Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers and Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber.

Also present were the president of the National Council of the National Front, Prof Dr Lothar Kolditz, deputy chairmen of the State Council and Council of Ministers and other public figures, chairmen of mass organizations, generals and officers of the GDR armed forces, including the commandant of the Berlin garrison, Lt Gen Karl-Heinz Drews.

The guests at the parade included the commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, Army Gen Mikhail Zaytsev, and the representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact to the GDR National People's Army, Army Gen Ivan Shavrov. Also attending were other heads of diplomatic missions accredited in the GDR with the doyen of the diplomatic corps, Soviet Ambassador Petr Abrasimov, as well as military and defense attaches.

At roll calls before the parade the soldiers had reaffirmed that they would help, in firm alliance with the Soviet Army and the other allied armed forces, to thwart imperialism's policy of stepping-up arming and confrontation and live up to their historic responsibility for preserving and securing peace.

The commander of the parade, Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, deputy GDR defense minister and chief of the Ground Forces of the National People's Army (NVA), reported the assembled formations to the minister for national defense, Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann. Army Gen Hoffmann congratulated the soldiers, noncommissioned officers, cadets and officers on the GDR's national day. The GDR's national anthem was played by the United Music Corps of the NVA. The units then formed in the festively decorated Karl-Marx Allee for the pass-in-review, accompanied by the cheers of the Berliners.

Cheers went up as officer cadets of the Friedrich Engels Military Academy filed past the podium at the head of the parade troops.

Also in ranks of 12 followed future commanders of motorized infantry, missile and artillery units, units of antiaircraft missile and communications troops, future pilots from the Ernst Thaelmann and Franz Mehring officer schools as well as members of the Rosa Luxemburg GDR Border Troops' officers' school. Future naval officers and seamen of the People's Navy completed the parade.

The applause which greeted the motorized section of the parade once again symbolized the unity of people and army. From an armored personnel carrier, Division Commander Maj Gen Siegfried Zabelt, graduate of the Soviet K. Ye. Voroshilov General Staff Academy gave the salute to the party and state leadership. He was followed by paratroopers on special vehicles. Then came a reconnaissance unit which, with its exemplary training results, is fulfilling the legacy of that meritorious pioneer of socialism, Richard Sorge, whose name their barracks bears. The motorized infantry units following them belong to one of the oldest NVA troops units, the Hans-Beimler Regiment.

There was more applause for the soldiers who are protecting peace and the achievements of socialism when the parade featured antitank gunners and artillerymen with their equipment. The artillerymen from the Paul Sasnowski troop unit also demonstrated efficient Soviet battle equipment with their 130-mm guns. The artillery units' march was concluded with a column of self-propelled 152-mm howitzers which have a high degree of mobility and accuracy.

Motorized artillerymen on armored vehicles from the Paul Hegenbart troop unit paraded past. Their regiment proved itself in the joint maneuvers of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, Brotherhood-in-Arms 80.

They were followed by tanks of the tested T series, including medium T-55 combat tanks, whose crews completed a tactical exercise of the batallion with an overall grade of 1. They also have close links with comrades-in-arms, for example with a Soviet tank regiment and the Polish Army's Dresden tank regiment.

Units of Air Defense troops drove past. The members of party and state leadership were also greeted by the crews of triple and twin antiaircraft missile complexes. The high degree of combat value of the antiaircraft missiles of Air Defense was then demonstrated by the Hermann Duncker Regiment. Since 1963 these soldiers have been protecting GDR air space within the Warsaw Pact. The long column of parading troops finished with tactical and operative tactical missiles of the Land Forces.

The march-past by the music corps and bandsmen ended the NVA's traditional parade of honor on the GDR's national day.

Honecker Speaks at Reception

DW072214 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1830 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Speech by Erich Honecker, SED general secretary, at a reception by the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council and Council of Ministers in the Palace of the Republic in East Berlin, marking the 33d founding anniversary of the GDR -- recorded]

[Text] Dear friends and comrades, ladies and gentlemen of the diplomatic corps, esteemed guests:

Permit me to very cordially welcome you to this reception marking the 33d anniversary of the founding of the GDR. On our national day we can state with satisfaction that our socialist state has followed a successful path which will continue to be followed for the people's well being. Under the leadership of its party, the SED, the workers class in alliance with the cooperative farmers, the members of the intelligentsia and all working people have attained achievements of historical greatness. They crown the long struggle, involving many sacrifices which the best sons and daughters of our people waged for a future of true freedom and human dignity.

The ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin also have become a reality on German soil. The working people, liberated from exploitation and suppression, develop their creative power and shape the advanced socialist society. Last year, in particular, was an eventful time full of intensive work. On the whole good progress was achieved in the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the 10th SED Congress. It is known that this is already the last quarter of the 2d year in our 5-year plan. By the end of September, the industrial goods production under the jurisdiction of the industrial ministries had risen by 4.2 percent. This is almost exclusively attributable to higher labor productivity.

Thus the GDR continues to realize a remarkable economic growth. This allows us to successfully continue our social policy. Our people can be rightly proud of these results because they were achieved under conditions which were not easy. On the world markets we are dealing with the effects of the most serious crisis of capitalism since the thirties. At the same time the most aggressive circles of imperialism, especially in the United States, wage an outright economic war against the socialist countries. Therefore, great efforts are necessary to guarantee a growth which allows us to ensure and further develop stepwise the existing material and cultural living standard of our people.

The adaptation to the new situation naturally cannot proceed smoothly. It requires much inventiveness, activity and also persistence. The working people attain outstanding achievements in this respect in socialist competition. It has become increasingly clear that they have made our party's economic strategy for the eighties their own cause. I therefore feel bound on this very day to wholeheartedly thank all citizens who do their best for the strengthening of our socialist fatherland. [applause]

At a time when in the capitalist countries the red pencil is the main instrument of social policy and mass unemployment is constantly growing, in the GDR the value of full employment, the great educational chances for all the children of our people, the reliable prospects for them in their career and in society as well as all the other elements of social security become even more clearly manifest.

These achievements which are of fundamental importance for the life of every individual and every family are an inalienable asset of our people. They were created, constantly consolidated and developed in 33 years of the GDR. What our republic, the first worker-peasant state on German soil, has achieved, at the same time represents the active power of our fraternal alliance with the land of the builders of communism, the USSR, which celebrates its 60th anniversary this year. Our indestructible alliance of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance in practice permeates all spheres of our social life. In view of the present tough international class conflict between imperialism and socialism, it is of special importance for our country's stability and progress.

We consider the further strengthening of the GDR as being our contribution to the strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries and to the stabilization of the situation in Europe. Friends and comrades, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, in a country like ours which rose from the ruins of World War II the people have a very close relationship with peace. They are therefore concerned about the continuing aggravation of the international situation as a result of the imperialist course of confrontation and stepped-up armament.

In the GDR the people and government are united in their endeavor of doing everything -- really everything -- to avert the danger of a nuclear world war threatening mankind and to create a lasting peace order. This is a very decisive factor in the motives of many citizens of our country for their daily work and their often substantial efforts for the strengthening of the GDR. This holds true for all generations, and in these days we see our youth work so enthusiastically and responsibly for this noble goal within the FDJ peace drive.

It is an existential matter for Europe to stop those within NATO -- and above all the United States -- whose political wisdom is confined to developing and installing ever new weapons systems. In our view practical measures for the limitation and reduction of armaments, especially in the nuclear field, are urgently necessary. This is the goal of the GDR's and the fraternal socialist countries' international activities. It has become a truism that more armament does not mean more security. We therefore consider it to be of priority importance that the stationing of new U.S. medium-range missiles and cruise missiles in Western Europe next year according to NATO's Brussels decision does not come about.

The most promising and even only practicable way to a Europe of peace and security is the continuation of detente and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation according to the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This is and remains the only practicable way to the further development of fruitful cooperation between the two German states. It is a fact of historic importance that the GDR has become a cornerstone of peace on our continent. It actively and constructively works for the recovery of the international situation. It supports all initiatives aimed at solving international conflicts by peaceful means.

Dear friends and comrades, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, the eighties will also make no small demands on our country. But the citizens of our republic will further shape their life in socialism with optimism and energy and implement those goals which we have set for the well-being of our people and in the interests of peace. I suggest we raise our glass and drink to the 33d anniversary of the GDR and the well-being and happiness of the peoples.

Hoffmann Presents Awards

AU071449 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Oct 82 p 2

[ADN report: "Meritorious Members of the National People's Army [NVA] honored: Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann Valued Fulfillment of Duty"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On Monday in the Defense Ministry, members of the NVA and the GDR Border Troops were awarded and promoted for their merits of many years in protecting socialism and ensuring peace.

On the occasion of the 33d GDR anniversary National Defense Minister Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, presented the Patriotic Order of Merit in bronze. The high award went to majors Reinhard Bruehl, Martin Foerster and Guenter Hieman; colonels Erwing Dorn and Lantfried Kaltofen; navy Capt Wolfgang Bretschneider and Commander Klaus Steinhauer, as well as to other members of the NVA and of the GDR Border Troops.

The defense minister awarded the Combat Order "for merits on behalf of the people and fatherland" to major generals Heinz Hampel, Joachim Herbst and Herbert Schmerler; colonels Gerhard Seidel, Friedrich Kemter and Siegfried Wuensche; lieutenant colonels Emil Floether and Gerhardt Hofman; and senior warrant officers Ruediger Breitenbach and Alfred Selent, among others.

Army General Hoffmann congratulated the awarded officers. With their exemplary readiness for action and fulfillment of duties they contributed considerably to the strengthening of the GDR's national defense, he said. He expressed the conviction that they will also in the future employ all their strength, knowledge and experiences to creatively implementing the class assignment given by the 10th SED Congress.

BRIEFS

USSR STRIP MINE EQUIPMENT -- The GDR and the USSR today concluded in Moscow an agreement on the GDR export of a complex of strip mine equipment destined for black coal mining in the Ikebastus field of the Khazakh region. [Text] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 6 Oct 82 DW]

SHIP PRODUCTION -- The Volkswerft Shipyard in Stralsund recently started the serial production of 109 type GTS Atlantik 333 refrigerated trawler-seiners. The keels have been laid for the first four ships. [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 8 Oct 82 DW]

POLISH NAVAL VISIT -- A landing ship of the Polish Navy arrived in the republic today for friendly meeting with brothers-in-arms of the GDR People's Navy and the Baltic Red Banner Fleet on the occasion of the GDR's national holiday. [Text] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 6 Oct 82 DW]

REPORTAGE ON THE VISIT OF DRA'S KARMAL

Kadar Banquet Speech

LD070915 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0415 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Kabul, Oct. 6, BAKHTAR -- Following is the text of the speech of Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party at the state banquet hosted by him in honour of Babrak Karmal in Budapest on Oct. 4.

Dear Comrade Babrak Karmal, dear Afghan friends, dear comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Hungarian communists and the Hungarian people I welcome with sincere respect and high esteem Comrade Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and president of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and all our dear Afghan guests in his entourage. I thank you for having accepted our invitation and paid this visit to us. We regard it an important event that we can welcome in our country a high-level party and state delegation from the friendly Afghanistan.

The history of both the Hungarian and Afghan peoples prove that there are many similarities in the fates of peoples. The Afghan people living in the centre of Asia, like the Hungarian people here in the heart of Europe, waged a [word indistinct] struggle for their national independence, social progress and for many times for their [word indistinct] existence, as well. When Afghanistan attained its independence in 1919, the Hungarian councils' republic, the first Hungarian socialist state, was established as a result of our people's struggle. At that time the power of workers and peasants was crushed by foreign intervention and by the superiority in number of the interventionists, but twenty five years later, as a result of the victory of the Soviet Army in the liberation struggle, our country regained independence. The defeat of fascism in the Second World War and the total failure of power of the Hungarian feudalist-capitalist ruling classes made it possible for our people to take the guidance of its fate in its own hands again.

The liberated Hungarian people could embark on the road of social advancement and in a life-time achieved historical results in constructing a new society by making the socialist revolution victorious. As a result of the victory of the April Revolution in 1978 significant social changes have commenced in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as well. Today our countries and peoples are linked together by the bonds of friendship and solidarity, the common ground of which is our struggle for social progress and peace.

Dear Afghan friends: You have arrived in Hungary from a country that underwent many historical storms. We highly appreciate the devoted struggle carried out by the Afghan people, under the guidance of your party for an early liquidation of [word indistinct] old backwardness, for the improvement of living conditions and cultural development of the working people, for the defence of the revolutionary achievements and for the repulse of the attacks by the internal and external reactionary forces.

We are aware of the fact that you carry out your work of national construction under extremely difficult and complicated circumstances. The internal reaction, with the support of international imperialism, makes attempts time and again to undermine the power of the people and to eliminate the revolutionary achievements of the country. These forces threaten not only the security of your country but by maintaining tension around Afghanistan they also try to justify their actions aimed at aggravating the international situation. The Afghan revolution enjoys the support of the progressive forces of the world. We believe that the changes having taken place in Afghanistan are irreversible, and all those, who try to prevent by arms, economic discrimination and with false propaganda the progress of the Afghan people on the road chosen by itself, are doomed to failure.

We condemn the imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the cold war efforts made under the pretext of the so-called Afghan question. We support the constructive proposals and initiatives by the Government of Afghanistan aiming at the political solution of the problems in the region [word indistinct] the settlement of the relations of the countries concerned through negotiations. May I assure you of the deep sympathy and total solidarity of the Hungarian People's Republic and that it will continue to support the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its just struggle.

Dear guests, there are significant results in every field of life in our work of socialist construction, the most important thing however is that our people live in security, under settled circumstances, the people's power is solid and the socialist national unity is strong in the Hungarian People's Republic. Our people can rightly be proud of its results achieved by its long and persistent struggle, steady, industrious and arduous work. In our work and struggle it has always represented an indispensable resource that our friend and ally has been the Soviet Union, a true friend and stable supporter of the peoples struggling for their freedom, national independence, and social progress. The guarantees of our country's prosperity our people's certain future is that we belong to the large community of the socialist countries.

Our historical [passage indistinct] grave shocks either and our life is not free from problems even today. At present the worsening international cond ions in [words indistinct] work of construction has made its effects felt in our country as well and the worries of our life nowadays have multiplied. Nevertheless our party is firmly determined to continue its policy pursued up till now: to strengthen the socialist features of our society, to develop national economy, to defend our achievements in the field of living standards and according to our possibilities to improve the living conditions of our people under the favourable world economic and international political circumstances. A mutual trust and a conscious readiness to act exists between the party and the people and this fact is a major guarantee for us to achieve our goals under more difficult conditions as well.

Our talks of today prove that we hold identical views concerning the most important questions affecting the life of the peoples and the fate of the word. It is well known that in recent years the forces of international imperialism have intensified their activity [words indistinct] countries and national liberation movements. By doing so, they threaten not only the work of construction of our peoples and the struggle of the forces fighting for independence and social progress but also the peace in the world.

The activity of the extreme reactionary circles, the acceleration of arms race and the embargo policy alike, lay heavy burdens not only upon us and the developing countries struggling for the liquidation of colonial and semi-colonial inheritance, but we may say that on all peoples of the world.

The peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation of countries with different social systems are the only reasonable alternative of the accelerating arms build up fraught with catastrophe and the reawakening cold war tension. We resolutely condemn the efforts aimed at upsetting military balance and increasing tension.

Together with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community we are working for curbing arms race, for reducing international tension and for strengthening peace in the world. In the present situation we consider the union and joint action of all progressive and peace-loving forces especially important and indispensable.

Dear Afghan friends: Your present visit is an outstanding event in the development of our relations. I am sure that our talks will contribute to the development of our mutually advantegous co-operative. We wish you to feel at home in our country, among the community and the working people of Hungary, who greet the highly esteemed [passage indistinct] Afghanistan [words indistinct] their friends.

I raise my glass to the health of Comrade Babrak Karmal and [words indistinct] dear guests, to the prosperity of the Afghan people as well as to the friendship between Hungarian and Afghan peoples.

Karmal Banquet Speech

LD070904 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0440 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Kabul, Oct 6, BAKHTAR -- Following is the text of speech of Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] CC and president of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan], at the state banquet hosted in his honor by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of Hungarian Socialist Workers Party at Budapest on Oct 4.

Dear Comrade Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialists Workers Party:

Dear Comrade Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic:

Dear comrades:

Allow me, [words indistinct] to express profound gratitude of my own and of the party and state delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) to you, Comrade Janos Kadar, first secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, and to all the communists and peace-loving, sincere and hospitable working people of socialist Hungary for the invitation to visit the beautiful country of Hungary and for your comradely and sincere words and the warm welcome accorded to the delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Government of the DRA.

It is a place of joy for us that we are visiting your beautiful country. We are convinced that our meetings with you and other respected leaders of your country would play an important role towards expanding and consolidating our existing new-type of fraternal relations, which began with the victory of the April Revolution and which were raised to a qualitatively (?high rate) of development by the new revolutionary phase of the revolution.

Our Hungarian friends know well that we hold in high esteem the militant solidarity, comradely feelings, attention and sincerity manifested by them towards us in the difficult days in the life of the working people of our country. These positive ties of selfless and unshakable friendship consitute a reliable basis for the expansion and consolidation of fruitful cooperation between our two countries.

Dear comrades: Our party has acquired definite and valuable experience in guiding the social, economic and state affairs during the period after the victory of the April Revolution and specially in its new evolutionary phase and it has become possible that ways and means of successful solution of problems and tackling the present day and future tasks may be searched for in a more perfect and more desired way. The party responded positively and creatively to this pressing need of the development of our society and consequently the national conference of our party was convened in March 1982. The conference approved the programme of action of the party, which reflects the general policy of the party and indicates its strategy and tactics in the acute and difficult struggle [words indistinct] for the construction of a new society. The programme of action of the party, as is noted in its contents, determines and defines the basic directions of the development of society in various political, economic and social spheres, as also the basic principles of the peaceful foreign policy of our party and the revolutionary state. The objectives of the programme of action of our party are based on the sacred principles of peace and democracy, national independence, freedom and social justice, brotherhood and social progress.

The PDPA and the DRA, in spite of the continuation of the undeclared war of imperialism and reaction against our country and the criminal acts of the remnants of counter-revolution, are carrying out decisively and firmly the programme of national and democratic transformations in the interests of the misery-stricken working people of the DRA with full force, simultaneously with ensuring security and democratic legality.

The foreign policy of the PDPA and the Government of DRA is based on the principles of friendship, peaceful coexistence, proletarian internationalism and non-alignment.

This policy has an organic link with the essence of the construction of a new society in our country. It exactly is on the basis of this peaceful foreign policy that our country put forth twice its proposals on May 14, 1980 and August 24, 1981 in connection with the solution of the problems of the region in which our neighbouring countries -- Iran and Pakistan have so far not adopted concrete and constructive positions.

Our efforts for the solution of the problems of our region are continuing firmly. The recent Geneva talks are a vivid example in this respect.

Esteemed comrades: In our foreign policy activity, we not only support and endorse the peace proposals of the Soviet Union approved by the 26th CPSU Congress for ensuring peace in Europe and the world, but are also waging a decisive struggle for their realization. We must stress that the implementation of the five-point proposals of the USSR put forward in the Indian parliament in December 1980 by esteemed and great friend of the working people of the DRA, L.I. Brezhnev, can ensure peace in Asia.

We profoundly believe that the implementation of the Soviet Union's appeal of February 22, 1981 to the countries of ASEAN and definite and practical proposals forwarded by the three Indochinese countries, namely, Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos for ensuring genuine peace in the region and for transforming that region into a region of peace and the proposals of the Mongolian People's Republic for concluding an international convention for non-aggression and non-use of force in the relations between the Asian states, will play an important role in ensuring peace and stability in Asia and the world.

Respected comrades: Recently the U.S. Senate approved a document through which the world notorious U.S. imperialism secured the recommendation of the Senate, representative of the capitalist monopolies, for military aggression against heroic Cuba, Nicaragua and other forces of peace and social progress in Latin America and the Carribean region. We denounce this provocative interventionist act of aggressive United States and proclaim our support and full solidarity with the revolutionary Cuba and other progressive forces of that continent. Likewise, we denounce the imperialist interventions in the African Continent and the criminal acts of the racist Pretoria regime against the frontline states of Africa and express our complete support to the struggle of the people of Namibia led by SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization].

The world recently witnessed heinous crimes of the U.S. imperialism and the bloody, fanatic and fascist regime of Zionist Israel against the misery-stricken people of Palestine and Lebanon. We decisively support the struggle of the people of Palestine led by their sole legal representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, for determining their destiny and for the formation of an independent democratic state of Palestine, as also the struggle of the people of Lebanon for repulsing the Israel-U.S. aggression.

We demand the expulsion of Israel from the United Nations and all-embracing sanctions against Begin's fascist-type state.

The problem of ensuring peace is the pressing need of our time.

We are deeply convinced that the role of your country in the struggle for ensuring peace and international security, disarmament, deepening of detente and lessening of international tension and against war, imperialism, Zionism and Beijing hegemonism, in the worldwide front of struggle of the camp of peace and social progress headed by the USSR, is great. Undoubtedly, this role of yours originates from the essence of the socialist system in which the working people of your country are today taking firm and big strides towards the construction of an advanced socialist society.

Respected comrades: The visit to your beautiful country, exchange of views and acquaintance with the valuable experience of the HSWP have helped us a lot in the construction of a new society. We believe that socialist Hungary under the wise leadership of the HSWP, and as a result of creative implementation of the decisions of HSWP 12th Congress, will achieve further progress and advancement.

Long live the selfless, unshakeable and fraternal friendship between the DRA and HPR!

Long live peace throughout the world!

Permit me to propose a toast for your health, dear Comrade Janos Kadar and you, dear Comrade Pal Losonczi, and other leaders of the party and state, communists, and all the working people of the HPR, and for the great friendship between the parties of our countries, our peoples and for ensuring peace and social progress all over the world.

Party Cooperation Agreement

LD061052 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0434 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Text] Kabul, October 5, Bakhtar Mahmud Barialay, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PDPA Central Committee had talks with Peter Varkonyi, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee in Budapest today.

In the course of the meeting, marked by a cordial atmosphere, they exchanged views on important international issues, and surveyed inter-party relations. The representatives confirmed the readiness of the HSWP and PDPA to strengthen cooperation.

Peter Varkonyi and Mahmud Barialay then signed an agreement on cooperation between the PDPA and the HSWP for 1983-84.

Losonczi, Karmal Tour Factory

LD061726 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Text] Budapest, October 5 (MTI) -- The Tuesday programme of the Afghan party and state delegation, currently on an official friendship visit to Hungary under the leadership of Babrak Karmal, continued in the afternoon with a factory visit.

Babrak Karmal, accompanied by Pal Losonczi, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, visited one of the largest industrial units of the Hungarian capital, the United Incandescent lamp factory, where Director-General Bela Dienes informed them about the activity of the factory, founded in 1896.

The lamps, electronic spare parts and complete vacuum technical installations of the United Incandescent factory, employing 30,000 workers, are well-known on world markets. The company exports 70 percent of its production to more than 100 countries. Bela Dienes said that the company has expanding trade relations with Afghanistan, and will meet a 200,000 dollar order this year.

Babrak Karmal then visited the luminous source factory and viewed the Kekes lamp production line which makes 5,000 traditional incandesent lamps an hour. The company has exported these products to Afghanistan this year.

At the end of the visit, Babrak Karmal spoke with appreciation about the factory and signed the book of the factory's Edson socialist bridage.

Babrak Karmal then saw the sights of Budapest. At the Hungarian workers' movement museum, founded 25 years ago, he saw the exhibition presenting the major phases in the development of the Hungarian working class, and saw the group photograph commemorating the 200,000 Hungarian internationalists who assisted strengthening the Soviet power in Russia.

The sightseeing ended late in the afternoon.

The Tuesday programme of the Afghan party and state delegation ended in the evening at the headquarters of the Hungarian state folk ensemble, where the delegation saw a performance of the group.

Ministerial Meetings

LD065242 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0506 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Kabul, Oct 6, BAKHTAR -- Shah Mohammad Dost, minister of foreign affairs of the DRA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan] had a meeting with Frigyes Puja, Hungary's foreign minister in Budapest yesterday.

They discussed current international affairs and Hungarian-Afghan relations.

Their meeting was attended by deputy foreign ministers Vinczel Hazi of Hungary and Sakhi Daneshjo of Afghanistan.

Similarly, Mohammad Esma'il Danesh, minister of mines and industries of the DRA held talks with Peter Veress, Hungary's minister of foreign trade and Laszlo Kapolyi, secretary of the Ministry of Industry of Hungary on the same day.

They discussed prospects for developing bilateral economic relations.

National Groups' Leaders Meet

LD070642 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0508 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Kabul, Oct 6 BAKHTAR -- Dr Saleh Mohammad Zeray, member of the Politburo of the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] CC, secretary of the Central Committee of PDPA and president of Afghanistan's National Fatherland Front (NFF), had talks with Imre Poszgay, general secretary of the All-Hungary Council of the Patriotic People's Front in Budapest yesterday.

At the meeting held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, they appraised each other of the situation in their organizations and discussed ways to deepen their ties and cooperation.

During the talk Imre Poszgay, reaffirmed his organization solidarity with the Afghan people, party and government.

Karmal Meets WFDY Leaders

LD071106 Budapest MTI in English 1016 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI) -- Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party General Committee and president of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, who is currently heading a party and state delegation to Hungary on an official, friendship visit, met several leaders of the Budapest-based World Federation of Democratic Youth, in Budapest Wednesday.

At the meeting, Miklos Barabas, Hungarian secretary-general of the WFDY, assured Babrak Karmal that the democratic and progressive youths of the world continue to actively support the just struggle of the Afghan people and youths for safeguarding the revolutionary achievements and to repulse the attacks of internal and external reactionary forces.

Wednesday evening Babrak Karmal met a group of Afghan students studying in Hungary.

Earlier in the day, Babrak Karmal and the high-ranking Afghan delegation visited north Hungarian Heves County and got acquainted with the county's political, economic and cultural life. They were accompanied by Pal Losonczi, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council.

The guests saw the sights of Eger, the county seat, the castle dating from the middle ages, the Csebokszari city district under construction, and visited the Hungarian-Bulgarian friendship co-operative at Detk.

Cooperation Agreement Signed

LD071228 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] The Afghan party and government delegation, headed by Babrak Karmal, has concluded its official friendly visit to Hungary.

As a result of the talks held in Budapest, a treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries was signed in the parliament building at 1100. Afterwards a farewell ceremony, with military honors, was held in Kossuth Square. Our Afghan guests were seen off by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, Pal Lonsonczi, president of the Presidential Council, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as by several other leaders of our party and state.

Babrak Karmal's visit has taken place at a time when the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has to overcome complicated internal and external difficulties.

During the course of the talks Janos Kadar stressed: Our country supports the proposals of the Afghan Government aimed at settling the problems of the southern and central Asian region by way of negotiations. In the course of the talks Hungarian-Afghan interparty and interstate relations were also reviewed.

At present Afghanistan can rely, first and foremost, on the support of the USSR and of the smaller East European socialist countries in overcoming her international economic problems. Following the visit paid to Budapest by the Afghan delegation, the mutually advantageous relations are being raised to a higher level. For Afghanistan this represents a further substantive extension of the scope for advancement within the area of international economy and politics. All this is important because problems are caused for the Kabul government not only by armed intervention from abroad but also by the diplomatic and economic blocade which the adversaries of the new Afghanistan are trying to force onto this South Asian country.

A joint communique is to be issued about the visit which came to an end today.

'Text' of Joint Communique

LD080720 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0448 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] Kabul, Oct 7, BAKHTAR -- Following is the text of Afghan-Hungarian joint communique issued at the end of the official and friendly visit of Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] CC and president of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan] to Hungarian Peoples Republic.

Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and president of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan paid an official, friendly visit at the head of a party and state delegation to Hungarian People's Republic from 4 to 7 October 1982 at the invitation of Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Pal Losonczi president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Babrak Karmal and Janos Kadar held negotiations in a comradely atmosphere and in the spirit of mutual understanding.

At the negotiations participated from the side of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan:

Dr Saleh Mohammad Ziray, member of the Politburo of the CC secretary of the CC of the PDPA, president of the Central Council of the National Fatherland front, Mahmud Barivalay, alternate member of the Politburo, secretary of the CC and chief of the international relations section of the PDPA, Mohammad Esma'il Danesh, alternate member of the Politburo of the PDPA, minister of mining and industry, Shah Mohammad Dost, member of the CC of the PDPA, minister for foreign affairs Shahzar Lenwal, member of the CC of the PDPA, party and state leader of the south-east security region.

Mohammad Anwar Farzam, alternate member of the PDPA, secretary of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council, Jeilani Bakhtari, ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the Hungarian People's Republic, from the side of the Hungarian People's Republic; Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of HPR Peter Varkonyi, secretary of the CC of the HSWP Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Frigyes Puja, minister for foreign affairs, Dr Laszlo Kapolyi, state secretary for industry, Dr. Gabor Nagy, deputy head of the Foreign relations Department of the HSWP, Dr. Vencel Hazi, deputy minister for foreign affairs, Dezso Kiss, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The delegation reviewed the questions of cooperation between the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and stated that the strengthening of inter-party relations was of great importance for the development of cooperation between the two countries, and expressed their readiness for the continued expansion of such ties as is also reflected in the new agreement on inter-party cooperation, which was signed during the visit.

The two sides reviewed the status of friendly relations and the questions of strengthening and developing cooperation between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Hungarian People's Republic. They stated with satisfaction that the period since the April Revolution particularly its second phase, has witnessed an expansion of cooperation in the political, economic, commercial, cultural and scientific-technical fields. They agreed to develop further the relations as well, and for this goal the members of the delegations had separate talks. The Hungarian side expressed its readiness to make a contribution commensurate with its means to the realization of the plans of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for economic, cultural, educational and scientific-technical development.

They reaffirmed their determination to develop the bonds of friendship between the two countries and signed the treaty of friendship and cooperation with that end in view.

They expressed their conviction that the treaty would lay a firm basis for the expansion of cooperation between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Hungarian People's Republic for the deepening of friendship of the two peoples.

Janos Kadar informed Babrak Karmal on the development of the Hungarian People's Republic, on the results achieved in building an advanced socialist society, on the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and on the endeavours of the party and government in the international arena.

Babrak Karmal valued highly the achievements of the Hungarian People's Republic in the building of an advanced socialist society and its foreign policy imbued with the spirit of solidarity with the peoples' struggling for social progress.

Babrak Karmal informed the Hungarian leaders about the successful implementation of the decisions of the nation-wide party conference and sixth plenum of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. These decisions are aimed at further stabilization of the situation in the country, facing the undeclared war launched by imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary forces, and at speedy fulfilment of the socio-economic transformations of national democratic character directed towards eliminations of the feudal vestiges and securing of conditions for constructing a new society free of any exploitation.

Janos Kadar stressed that the Hungarian People's Republic lent support to the multiple efforts by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan as well as by the Revolutionary Council and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to develop further the achievements of the April Revolution. The Hungarian people constructing socialism highly appreciate the significant achievement of the Afghan people in the struggle aimed at improving the living conditions and at social, economic and cultural advance of the country.

The Hungarian side highly appreciated the non-aligned anti-imperialist and progressive foreign policy pursued by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, resolutely condemned the maneouvres of the imperialists and their allies against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and welcomed the proposals of the Afghan Government seeking to preserve the security of the peoples of the region and to ensure their development without outside intervention along the road of their choice. Both sides emphasized the need for a political settlement of the situation that has developed around Afghanistan as a result of the continuing outside interference including armed intervention, in the internal affairs of the country. The Hungarian side expressed its support to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in its sincere efforts aiming at [word indistinct] concrete agreements on questions of political settlement. They were convinced that settlement of relations between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its neighbours could have a positive influence to bear on security and stability in the region.

The leaders of the two countries express concern over the increasing tension in international life. They condemn the imperialist attempts to step up the arms race, upset the military balance, increase international tension, and revive the cold war and pointed out the dangers directed at international peace and security by the decisions concerning the deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western European countries, the manufacture of the neutron bomb, and the application of economic sanctions against the socialist countries.

They emphasized that in the current international situation, fraught as it was with conflicts, the active cooperation and mutual solidarity of all progressive and peace-loving forces were indispensable to remove the danger of war, curb the arms-race, preserve the results of detente, eliminate the focal points of tension, and defend the freedom of peoples.

They declared their intention to continue taking resolute action to uphold and deepen detente and to extend it to the military field, support the efforts of the Soviet Union to consolidate international security and to restore confidence, and regard the Soviet Union's assumption of the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons as an important step towards this goal. They expressed the hope that the talks of the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of strategic nuclear arms would lead to the positive results based on the principle of equal security.

The two parties agreed that detente in Europe, the strengthening of security, and the development of cooperation and relations among the European states were assuming greater significance in the aggravated international situation. The successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting and the convening of the conference on confidence and security building measures and disarmament in Europe would greatly contribute to it.

Both sides stated that the developments in Poland were also a reflection of the efforts by international imperialism to increase tension, and expressed support for the measures of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Government of the Polish People's Republic designed to promote an early settlement of the situation and to enhance consolidation.

They deemed it necessary for the results of detente in Europe, to be preserved and developed further and, if possible to be extended to other parts of the world. While considering the situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Babrak Karmal and Janos Kadar voiced their full support to the recent Soviet proposal put forward by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev that NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries should make declarations about non-inclusion of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the sphere of activities of these alliances and expressed their conviction that the implementation of such proposal could greatly contribute to the strengthening of detente and lessening of war menace.

Babrak Karmal and Janos Kadar [word indistinct] efforts of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the People's Republic of Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea aimed at protecting their sovereignty and independence, at converting South-East Asia into a zone of peace, friendship and cooperation.

They considered it important that Asia, including the region of the gulf and the Indian Ocean, should become a zone of peace and security, condemned attempts of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the states in the region, the imperialist threats and machinations, the establishment of military bases as well and expressed their support to the 1981 proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic to secure the peace and cooperation of the Asian and Pacific states.

They expressed their concern over the situation in Lebanon and around it, threatening seriously the peace and security of the nations of the world as well of the region. They condemned the Israeli aggression of heavy falls against the Republic of Lebanon committed with the backing of extremist imperialist circles and the massacre of the Palestinian Arab people. They took their positions for the immediate termination of Israeli aggression, for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territory of Lebanon and for securing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Lebanon. They assured the Palestinian Arab people and the progressive forces of Lebanon of their solidarity and support in their struggle against the Israeli aggression.

They called attention to the fact that lasting and just settlement of the Middle East crises and the peace of the region is possible only by negotiations, by taking into consideration the inalienable right of the Palestinian Arab people including the right to establish their own national state and by the participation of all interested parties, including the P.L.O. in this connection. They voiced their support to the latest Soviet proposal advanced by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev.

Both sides lent support to the African liberation movements fighting against colonialism and the racist regime in South Africa. They reiterated their support to the just struggle of the Namibian patriots under the leadership of SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] for the freedom and independence of their motherland and for the immediate settlement of the Namibian problem on the basis of full implementation of the UNO decision. Both sides resolutely condemned the Pretorian regime's aggression against Angola.

They expressed solidarity with the peoples of Latin America in their struggle for independence, sovereignty, social progress and national advancement. Both sides reaffirmed their solidarity with revolutionary Cuba fighting against imperialism.

The two sides lauded the non-aligned countries' movement, with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan as its founding member and active participant, as an important factor in the present international relations. In this connection they emphasized the necessity to preserve and to strengthen the unity of action and progressive anti-imperialist character of the movement.

Both sides reiterated their readiness to develop and strengthen the solidarity among the countries of the socialist community, the non-aligned countries and all progressive forces of the world, in their common struggle for peace, international security, freedom and independence of peoples, against racism and neocolonialism. The negotiating parties expressed their conviction that the visit and the friendly, comradely negotiation will make an effective contribution to deepening cooperation between the two peoples and countries and to strengthening international peace and security.

Babrak Karmal expressed his heartfelt gratitude for the warm welcome and cordial hospitality accorded to him and his accompanying party. Babrak Karmal extended invitations to Janos Kadar and Pal Losonczi to pay official and friendly visit to the Democratic Republic of Aghanistan. The invitations were accepted with pleasure.

Officials Present at Departure

LD071820 Budapest MTI in English 1748 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI) -- As reported, a Hungarian-Afghan friendship and cooperation treaty was signed in Budapest Thursday to establish the basis of bilateral relations. The Afghan party and state delegation, headed by Babrak Karmal, on an official friendship visit to Budapest has now left. There was a ceremonial farewell to the Afghan delegation in front of the parliament building decorated with Afghan and Hungarian national flags. Present were Janos Kadar, Pal Losonczi, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mihaly Korom, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, Lajos Mehes, minister of industry, the members of the HSWP Political Committee, and several members of the HSWP Central Committee, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers. The ceremony concluded with the parade march of the Hungarian guard of honour. Janos Kadar and Pal Losonczi, together with the Afghan delegation drove to Ferihegy Airport accompanied by a motor escort. The special plane of the Afghan party and state delegation took off some minutes later.

ECONOMIC TALKS WITH U.S. REPRESENTATIVES

LD061726 Budapest MTI in English 1024 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Text] Budapest, October 5 (MTI) -- The Hungarian-American economic council held its 8th session in Washington Monday and Tuesday. The Hungarian delegation attending the session was led by Jozsef Molnar, director-general of the Tannimpex foreign trade company, the American delegation by Michael A. Samuels, vice-president dealing with international affairs of the chamber of commerce of the United States of America. The American Government was represented by Raymond Waldmann, undersecretary of state of the ministry of commerce, and Thomas Niles, deputy undersecretary of state dealing with European affairs of the State Department.

In messages to the meeting, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Trade Peter Veress and Malcolm Baldrige, secretary of commerce of the United States of America, assured the goals of the economic council of governmental support.

The participants of the conference reviewed the developments of American foreign trade law and the development of the regulation system of Hungarian foreign trade. The two sides also discussed possibilities of cooperation in the manufacturing and supply of artificial fuels. A recurring point in the speeches by the American experts was criticism against the restricting measures of the Government of the United States which hinder development of bilateral trade.

The official communique on the Washington conference stresses the constructive character of the talks. The participants agreed that there are still reserves to be exploited in trade cooperation which requires further work with the participation of more and more companies. Representatives of the Hungarian and American commerce also agreed to hold the next session of the council in Budapest next June.

WARSAW PREVIEWS AGENDA OF SEJM SESSION

LD071846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] A 2-day Sejm session will begin at 1400 hours tomorrow. Many important legal enactments are on the agenda. The legislative activity of our parliament, which has been going on for 2 years and which has become even more intense this year, is continuing.

After a report on the filling of deputies' mandates, there will be a report by the Commission for Labor and Social Welfare and the Commission for Legislative Work on the trade union bill tabled by the Council of State, a legislative enactment awaited by working people and whose concept arose over many months of consultation with society. It is worth recalling that in the recent lively discussions in many worker milieus the view has been expressed that the trade unions should be self-governing and independent of the administration and not existing alongside the state and its problems, being guided rather by the vital interests of employees and their families; that is, class unions founded on the basis of socialist principles, acting in accordance with the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, unions whose concept was contained in the August-September agreements of 1980. The speaker on the trade union bill will be Deputy Wlodzimierz Berutowicz.

Deputy Boleslaw Struzek will then present a report by the Commission for Agriculture and Food Industry and the Commission for Legislative Work on the deputies' bill on farmers' socioprofessional organizations.

A deputies' debate will ensue on both bills.

The next item on the agenda is the first reading of the people's councils and local self-government bill, submitted by the Council of State. The work on the bill has been going on for more than 2 years and has been based partly on two nationwide general consultations. An extraordinary commission is to be set up in the Sejm to examine this bill.

The government bill on employees' pensions and annuities, which will also have its first reading in the Sejm, envisages many fundamental changes in the pension system. Its main directions are the liquidation of the so-called old portfolio, an ongoing revalorization of benefits and greater priority for long-serving workers.

The report of the Commission for Labor and Social Welfare and the Commission for Legislative Work on the government bill on changes in the alimony fund act will be presented by Deputy Eugenia Kempara. There is also to be the first reading of the government bill on road traffic law. Deputies' question-time is also envisaged.

COMMENTATOR ON TU MOVEMENT REVIVAL, SEJM SESSION

LD072056 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 7 Oct 82

["August and September Accords the Foundation" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw 7 Oct --We are at the threshold of an important event in Poland's contemporary history -- the revival of the trade union movement, PAP commentator Ludwik Arendt wrote.

At its next meeting, the Sejm (Polish Parliament) will examine a draft law on trade unions, a legislative act that is awaited by the working people, the concept of which was born for many months in consultation with society. What will the future unions look like?

One thing is certain, political commonsense, public interest and civic concern for Poland's successful future indicate that these should be class unions, adhering to the principles of the socialist system, operating in keeping with the Polish Constitution, genuinely representing and really defending the needs of the working crews.

Therefore, these unions ought to be self-governing and independent of the administration, but should not exist beside the state and its problems. On the other hand, they should be guided by the vital interests of the workers and their families.

The foundation of exactly such a concept of future trade unions are the accords of August and September 1980 signed by the authorities with the striking workers of Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie. Therefore, it is to be an independent movement, as in the formula taken down in the Gdansk postulates and not in that which was later distorted by the Solidarnosc leaders.

There is no return to the situation from before December 13, 1981 which brought ample evidence that the Solidarnosc extremists were striving to turn this union into an opposition political party.

Also the [word indistinct] the future union movement with broad powers and instruments to reach union objectives and with extensive rights and strictly defined duties is associated with a return to August 1980. In other words, these are to be the rules of conduct guaranteeing that this movement will understand and perceive its important role and place in the socialist state. The taking up of the idea of exactly such trade unions is possible due to the consistently observed and pursued line of the renewal of Poland's socio-political life. It is exactly such an approach to this important question, nowadays pervading the working people and the entire society, can also serve the idea of national agreement and be the basis of real process of normalization of life in Poland.

There is a great need for a vigorous and fighting trade union movement, but also with an unequivocally socialist character, said Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at the Sejm session. Only such trade unions can be a firm spokesman for the interests of the workers and a defender of their rights. It is only such a labour movement that is needed by all of us -- the working class, all the working people and Poland of the present decade.

SPOKESMAN URBAN ANSWERS QUESTIONS ON UNION BILL

NC071929 Paris AFP in English 1822 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 7 (AFP) -- The draft bill that could outlaw most Polish unions, including Solidarity, might be changed in line with proposals made by the Geneva-based International Labor Organisation (ILO) before it goes up for parliamentary debate tomorrow, the government said today. Spokesman Jerzy Urban gave no details on the "suggested" modifications, but said they had been conveyed to government envoy Albin Mironczuk, who met with ILO General-Director Francis Blanchard early this week in Geneva. He said, however, that most of the ideas "appeared acceptable to us" and had been submitted to parliamentary committees for study.

Security forces, meanwhile, started boosting their presence in the Polish capital today in what was seen as a move to brace against possible protests to any banning of Solidarity. Mechanized militia units, known as ZOMOS and which have been used to break up past demonstrations, reappeared in the streets, while trucks and vehicles with militia markings turned up in the parking lots of four Warsaw hotels that were occupied by militiamen during street disturbances in August.

Earlier today, Mr Urban confirmed reports by the PAP news agency that several members of Solidarity, which was suspended with the December 13 martial law proclamation, were arrested Tuesday in Wroclaw along with regional Solidarity leader Wladyslaw Frasyniuk. Mr Frasyniuk is one of four members of Solidarity's underground national leadership. Mr Urban said police inquiries prevented the release of the names of the others arrested.

Solidarity, the first independent union in the communist bloc, claimed a membership of eight to ten million workers who reportedly have remained loyal to the movement despite its suspension with the December 13 martial law proclamation and the internment of its leader, Lech Walesa.

The text of the draft labor bill has not been presented to the public here yet, but it would apparently nullify the legal basis not only of Solidarity but also nearly of all other workers' organizations. In their place, the government has proposed the formation of new unions at the factory level that would be self-governing but comparatively limited in their activities. Restrictions would be put on the right to strike, for example, that would make the practice nearly impossible.

Mr Urban today said a government-sponsored opinion poll in recent days showed that 34 percent of those questioned supported the idea of creating new unions "starting from zero" though a greater percentage -- 39 percent -- favored maintaining existing union organizations. Another 17 percent had no opinion on the union question, while 10 percent thought it was too early to restructure the union movement, Mr Urban said. He specified that the 39 percent who rejected the outlawing of now-suspended unions included supporters of both Solidarity and the branch unions, which were an outgrowth of former official unions.

FRENCH DAILY ON NEW TRADE UNION LAW

PM081107 Paris LE FIGARO in French 6 Oct 82 p 2

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Poland: The New Trade Unions Will Be Severely Restricted"]

[Text] Warsaw -- While it seems increasingly certain that Polish Primate Monsignor Glemp, who is very worried about the development of the situation in the country, is preparing to cancel not only his trip to the United States but even the visit he was to make to the Vatican tomorrow, I am in a position to give details about the bill on withdrawing legal status from Solidarity and the other trade unions -- a bill which will be submitted to the Sejm on Friday -- and on the creation of new trade union cells in enterprises.

The first document is a "Council of State resolution relating to the principles and methods of forming trade unions." In the bill on the trade unions the Council of State resolution stipulates that trade union cells can be set up in enterprises. In 1984 national associations can be formed by branch or profession. It is only in 1985 that inter-union federations can be set up. Until then only one trade union will be accepted per enterprise and it will have to be called the "trade union of the workers of enterprise."

The document stipulates that the adjectives "independent" and "self-managed" will be tolerated in the trade union's name. But if the government really wanted to convince the workers of its desire to create authentic trade unions it would insist on the use of that description instead of reluctantly tolerating it. But perhaps, after all, the government is not anxious to see too many real working class representatives join the new trade union?

Finally, a "social coordination commission" will be set up to facilitate the formation of enterprise trade union cells. The bill on the trade unions has -- one suspects -- been fairly radically altered compared with the version drawn up before 13 December with Solidarity's participation. First, it will be noted that it withdraws legal status from all trade unions existing before martial law, in other words from Solidarity primarily. Thus they are making a clean sweep and claiming to start afresh. What will the new trade unions be like? The text asserts that they should be independent from the administration and the government and self-managed. Their rules must be in keeping with socialist Poland's Constitution and respect the party's leadership role.

The Restrictions

Who can join a trade union? That right is only given to employees and wage-earners. That prohibits the creation of peasant trade unions (of the Solidarity type). In addition, soldiers and militia members cannot be trade union members.

The right to strike is solemnly proclaimed. Nonetheless, it is limited by a whole series of provisions. It is suspended in time of natural disaster, martial law or war. Strikes cannot be called in an enterprise unless they are approved by a majority of workers in a secret ballot and accepted by the trade union's higher body. Since the law does not provide for the creation of national trade union structures before 1984, that means that it will not be possible to stage a strike until then.

In addition strikes can only be a last resort which cannot be used until arbitration attempts have been made. According to Article 45: "In exceptional circumstances justified by the critical state of the national economy, the Sejm can pass a resolution suspending the right to strike." The wording of this article is significant: The initial draft envisaged that possibility of suspension for a specific period (3 months) and limited the number of times the provision could be used. Today the government is obviously anxious to have a free hand.

In addition the list of those who are not allowed to strike is long. It affects those who work in the army, militia and security services but also in the electricity, water and gas services, enterprises producing or distributing food products, the health services, banks, courts, insurance services, anything connected with transportation and telecommunications (clear concern for the Warsaw Pact's security) and radio and television.

Arbitrary

One particularly worrying point (Article 53) stipulates that the Warsaw court can, merely on the public prosecutor's suggestion, disband any trade union organizations pursuing "action directed against the interests of the People's Republic of Poland." That opens the door to arbitrary action. Indeed the idea of "socialist Poland's interests" is as vague and subject to varied interpretation as it is easy to define respect for the Constitution.

Finally, it will be noted that the law considerably reduces the trade unions' role to special functions and defending workers' working conditions in the enterprise. The trade unions are only given the right (in Article 22) to "put forward their opinions in Sejm commission or regional council sessions." In short, therefore, this law is certainly much more democratic than the one in force before August 1980 but it is clearly a far cry from Solidarity's hopes. It is more progressive than is the case in most of the other socialist countries (which is not difficult), but it is more restrictive than the one in force in Hungary, where the trade unions take part at various levels in drawing up the whole of economic and social policy and enjoy the right to veto.

RAKOWSKI MEETS WITH PABIANICE WORKERS 7 OCT

LD071828 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] In Pabianice, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has met representatives of the workforce of the Pamotex cotton industry works and party activists of the town. The deputy premier described the current problems connected with the reactivization of the Polish trade union movement. Mieczyslaw Rakowski also answered numerous questions.

Speaks on Solidarity, TU Law

LD072014 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1836 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Speech by Deputy Premier Mieczslaw Rakowski to representatives of the work force and party in Pabianice on 7 October -- recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: Tomorrow the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic will begin a debate on the draft law on trade unions. The last time the Sejm debated on such a law was in 1949. Many trade union ativists who grew up after August 1980 had not been born at that time. I think it would be strange at the very least if, on the eve of the Sejm debate, I did not devote my speech to trade union issues, especially to problems connected with the future of the trade union movement in our country. I am authorized to speak on these issues by the fact that I have performed and perform the function of chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee on Cooperation With Trade Unions, and that this function has also determined my position as chief government negotiator in the talks with trade unions during the turbulent months last year which were full of various tensions.

Today is not the first time, of course, that I have faced public opinion, the workforces, with the intention of presenting to them not so much my point of view as the state's point of view on all the most significance issues concerning the trade union movement. Bearing in mind the great diversity of views on the development of the international situation in the country up to August 1980, I never counted on universal applause in my public speeches. I know that besides acceptance of what I was saying I also aroused feelings of aversion and anger. But I also always have been deeply convinced that I should and can count on the common sense of a great many citizens, on their capability to evaluate in an unbiased way the matters and the phenomena occurring in our life. I am very grateful when I think of the thousands of my fellow countrymen who sent letters to me confirming the correctness of my expectation. Today I am also counting on understanding and not rejection of my reasons. I am counting on sober reflections, sensible and realistic proposals.

I think it is necessary to add to everything that has been written so far about the place and role which the trade union movement should play in Poland in the 1980s only that the movement must not be treated separately from the whole package of reforms which, in many cases, are changing and will change in a significant way the social and economic map of the country, mechanisms of governing and influencing social development. Thus, while not minimizing the significance of the trade union movement, we should not treat it as the sole panacea on which the successful development of the country and national feelings exclusively depend.

The submission to the Sejm of the new draft law on trade unions without a doubt will become an event of great significance in the future of the country. This, we can say without exaggeration, is an historic moment.

The new act will demand that we think of tomorrow from the angle of specific measures and less (?from) [words indistinct] the creation of theoretical variants, asking ourselves: What would happen if...? Accepting those justifications of the usefulness of the specific solutions contained in the bill, I cannot, however, refrain from recalling the more important circumstances, facts and events which preceded the current movement. The interest with which society follows the course of matters linked with the trade unions above all comes from the appearance on the Polish political scene of NSZZ Solidarity in the autumn of 1980. Society's attention was centered on that organization and its activities in the period that ended 13 December 1981 and its hopes, expectations emotions and misunderstandings waxed and waned.

The activities of the Solidarity [word indistinct] united and divided people. It often set friends at odds with one another, created sharp divisions among groups of people who had cooperated with each other harmoniously for many years, and even caused quarrels and profound splits in families.

It often gave rise,too,to hostile feelings among younger Poles toward older people, toward those who had greater experience of life and who recommended caution and calm. No social group was excluded from these positive and negative processes. As tensions grew last year, as the shop shelves grew empty, as strikes and demonstrations became daily bread and walls began to be covered in slogans against the authorities, against the PZPR and often,too,against our allies, one could already speak not just about profound divisions in Polish society but about growing, dangerous tension and unrest. Slowly but surely, the number of citizens who attached great hopes in the autumn of 1980 to the new union and not quite 1 year later came to the conclusion that the locomotive named Solidarity was unfortunately pulling Poland, a country lying in the heart of Europe, a nation living for 37 years inside secure borders, a state which is an important factor in the balance of power between East and West, linked by treaties of friendship with neighbors and [word indistinct] treaties within the Warsaw Treaty -- that that locomotive was pulling this state in a very bad direction.

The above-mentioned unrest could be observed in all social and professional groups. It was particularly evident among women, among our mothers, sisters and wives. It is no accident that in that period -- and I am thinking of the last months of last year -- of the tens of thousands of letters which came in to the editorial boards of the mass media, to the party and other political parties and to various state administrative organs, letters from women predominated. They were full of fear and trepidation. I do not think anyone has the right to accuse Polish women of mass hysteria. (?Led) by a centuries-old instinct, wearied by the growing problems of everyday life, waiting in lengthening lines, most often after a day of hard work, looking after their hearth and home with care, they thought with dismay about the fate of their nearest and dearest, about what might happen tomorrow, in a week or in a month's time. I recall those moods because in my opinion one must not assess the country's political situation after August 1980 only on the basis of official documents, resolutions, appeals or speeches (?at rallies).

We will have to wait for a fully objective assessment of those stormy months. The last judgment on our reactions and activities will be pronounced by history. Our successors will pass judgment, will take a cool look at our reactions and our deeds. But awareness that history will be the most just judge must not deprive us of the right to form our own judgments, which are all the more justified if they are based on personal experiences and analyses of the facts.

If we say, for instance, that the post-August development of Poland took place under the predominant influence of Solidarity and specifically the line of action forced on the organization of many millions of working people which was decided by a group of people constituting a mixture of people with clearly crystallized antisocialist views and also rampant ambitions, outright [word indistinct] demagogy, we only confirm the facts existing at that time. If society has a deep-rooted memory of the mistakes committed in the past by our party -- and this memory is a real political factor -- then one would like there to be an equally deep-rooted national memory of those facts which cannot fail to make one ask questions about the true intentions of Solidarity's leaders and their advisers.

Was it really accidental and unimportant that not once was the word socialism used in the program adopted at the first Solidarity congress? At the time one of our interlocutors from the circles of advisers told us that this was due simply to carelessness. They simply forgot, did not notice socialism. Was it through carelessness that the Council of Ministers' message to the participants in the congress in which partnerlike talks were suggested was totally ignored? No, it was not carelessness. It was a matter of the political line which in autumn 1981 yielded a crop of overt exhortations to attack the state and its legal authorities.

Perhaps it is worth taking this opportunity to recall some of the militant statements of that period. Here they are: One of the chiefs of the Silesian and Pomeranian regional board, Wadziszewski, during a meeting at Szombierki mine at the end of November said that if a confrontation takes place, Solidarity will set fire to everything with gasoline.

The government is consciously striving to destroy the nation and Solidarity alone is able to save the community. Modzelewski said in Radom: We must tell them clearly that this will be their last struggle. Them means us, the legal authorities. Rujak supplemented what Modzelewski said, stating that it is necessary to prepare the union for a general strike and then to find an important reason which would catch on. [Word indistinct] will first of all take over the Radio Committee. On 4 December Wadolowski, deputy chairman of the National Commission, who was taking part in the session of the Sejm commission, said: This Sejm, everything, must fall apart.

On 6 December the second general meeting of delegates from the Mazowsze region demanded an immediate general strike, a referendum on elections to the Sejm and a change in the authorities. On 11 and 12 December a session of the National Commission was held in Gdansk. Here are some of the voices in the discussions. Slowik: We are not in a position at the moment to launch the slogan -- Sword in Hand -- but we can bring it home to the authoirities that we can make do without them. Seweryn Jaworski: We seize power at work enterprises no longer even by means of slow Solidarity self-governments but through faits accomplis. The economy is thus ours and we who manage well dictate the terms. Rulewski: It is necessary to set up a provisional government which will be made up of experts and to introduce a specific provisional political state. (Pieszczynski): Officially we must say that we attach a lot of importance to national accord. We must provoke the authorities politically. The best way of doing this will be to throw the PZPR out of work enterprises. Modzelewski: It is necessary to thrash the party. In deciding to wage war, one has to determine demands in a way that makes them convincing. (Lucznik), Solidarity and Confederation for an Independent Poland activist: We must say clearly that we want power.

These calls and slogans have not been thought up by us nor have they been fabricated. This is true. There is recorded evidence of this. The blockade lasting several days of the traffic circle in Marszalkowska Street in August of last year was a result of pure adventurism. It was an embarrassing spectacle which provided enjoyment for the onlookers and an opportunity for alarming (?news) to appear on the front pages of the bourgeois press. The adoption of the resolutions on eliminating PZPR committees from work enterprises, open talk of an approaching confrontation at the session of the Presidium of the National Commission [word indistinct] in Radom, threats of a general strike if the Sejm passed a law which would equip the government with temporary powers which, after all, would have been milder than the regulations of martial law, and finally the announcement of a great street demonstration on 17 December 1981, were also a result of pure adventurism.

Imagine for a moment what could have happened in an atmosphere stirred up by calls for confrontation if crowds of Warsaw inhabitants had taken to the streets on 17 December. It does not bear thinking about. Those criticizing the introduction of martial law say that our fears were exaggerated, that after all, in the entire post-August period not a hair on anyone's head was harmed. They pass over in silence one very important detail: Namely, that from the end of the first Solidarity congress we were dealing with an obvious but (?fairly) hard to foresee in spring and summer, very violent increase in activities which raised the temperature of hostility toward the authorities exceptionally fast.

(? Pressure), the waves of threats and various acts of violence increased, [word indistinct] the occupation of official buildings. These activities really had nothing in common with the repair of the socialist republic, with the consolidation of the democratization processes. In early autumn last year an extremist group of activists was finally (? trained) and took the upper hand. They chose a course of war with the people's authorities. This course found its expression in attacks on the leading role of the party, on our alliances -- especially the Polish-Soviet alliance -- and in a proclamation of views demanding a return to a broadly conceived system of capitalist ownership. With a full sense of responsibility, it must be stated that this course did not meet at that time with any serious opposition from the mass of members of the union.

I said that we should stick to the facts. Here are the facts which had a bearing on what was to happen 13 December.

As the process of anarchization and economic collapse grew and as the aggressiveness of the attacks on different parts of the authorities increased, the head of the government, minister of national defense [words indistinct] first secretary of the Central Committee, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, addressed appeals and warnings and cautioned the Solidarity leadership many times. He said in all seriousness that the authorities would not stand idly by forever, watching activities which weakened the Polish state. His was, unfortunately, a voice crying in the wilderness.

The extremist activists in Solidarity's National Commission, instructed by some advisers -- and I purposely use the word some because they also included sensible people but as time went on these had less and less say -- these activists made light of those warnings. Their pride, conceit and arrogance dictated such a reaction to the above-mentioned warnings. The only response by them was to increase [word indistinct] and demands, to concern themselves with everything but trade union matters.

(?From) the central regional boards in which the (?course) of war with the authorities dominated -- I (? advise) you to recall the mood which reigned in those buildings -- practically every day [word indistinct] instructions were sent to factories to proclaim a strike alert or strikes, to (?make) more and more complaints and demands, to condemn government decisions and so on. As a result, several hours later spontaneously -- in quotation marks, of course -- the growing demands landed on the desks of voivodas and ministers. There was a consciously (? created) automatic movement maintaining the state of permanent tension in the country. This paralyzed the normal work of the authorities and disrupted the smooth rhythm of work and undermined the unity of work forces. The (? staff) setting this mechanism in motion explained afterward that they were helpless because the grassroots were rebelling.

(?Many) anticommunists in the West who supported their fellow-believers in (? Poland) are trying now to persuade world public opinion that the government of General Jaruzelski, (? the generals who) created the Military Council of National Salvation, wanted from the very beginning to settle accounts with Solidarity. This is a gigantic piece of nonsense. From the point of view of organizational efficiency, the state of martial law could indeed have been introduced in March, in May or in any other month. If, instead of such a decision, warnings appeared and also appeals for caution, for a readiness to find compromise solutions, it was for the very reason that for many months the hope was maintained in the political and state leadership of the country that sensible people, basing their actions on the supreme interests of the people's state, would predominate in the National Commission in the end. The warnings, appeals and requests were dictated by attempts to create the most favorable conditions for the implementation of the program of reforms, so clearly defined by the Ninth PZPR Congress, that required the constructive cooperation of NSZZ Solidarity and all the other parts of the trade union movement. The industrial unions, the autonomous unions and the Polish teachers' union and dozens of others.

I would like to recall here in passing that all these trade unions other than Solidarity numbered about 4 million members in all. It is interesting that the entire pleiad of Western politicians, did not raise the issue of their future. I think that in the context of the complaint mentioned it is also worth recalling that the PZPR leadership did not prevent party members from joining Solidarity, that 20 percent of delegates to the ninth congress belonged to this union, and finally that a considerable group of members of the Central Committee, including a Politburo member, Comrade Zofia Grzyb, remained members of Solidarity until late autumn. On the other hand, let the extremist activists, a part of the Solidarity membership, themselves answer the question of what their attitude was toward members of the PZPR.

The wait for harmonious, constructive cooperation between Solidarity and the government and authorities at every level turned out to be in vain. The introduction of martial law meant a sudden change in the internal situation in the country as well as in the international conditions which influence Poland. It was, as we have said on many occasions, a very dramatic but essential step. There was no longer any other way out at the time unless someone would have preferred a tragic, a more tragic course of events. I think, however, that we do not have to concern ourselves with (?sadists) here in this hall.

The decree on martial law suspended the activity of all trade union organizations and also of those organizations which did not in any way question the principles contained in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. Thus, the unions which had as their credentials class leftwing traditions for many decades were also suspended. As far as the leading Solidarity teams are concerned, 13 December in fact opened up a certain chance for them. If they had treated this day as a day to sober up, they would then have been able to cut themselves off from all their erroneous activity, from a policy which was destroying the foundations of the Polish state. They could have suggested a program of constructive activities.

Someone might say, of course, that a majority of them were interned and thus that to demand from them a self-critical assessment of their activities in these conditions is simply a misunderstanding. This is not correct reasoning. Internment, however unpleasant it might be for the person, must not be an obstacle to commonsense thinking, to expressing their reflections publicly or even unofficially. What is more, facts indicate that when some of them felt the need to manifest their true views, they then got these views through without greater difficulties to the pages of the bourgeois press or Radio Free Europe.

In the context of these expectations, I would like to devote a few words to explaining a certain matter which must not be passed over in silence. Namely, I hear that after the introduction of martial law, General Jaruzelski said that Solidarity will be able to be reborn and now, what?

This is true. He said this and not only he said it but I said it too. Other representatives of the authorities said it. During the first weeks of martial law, the country's political and state leadership assumed that the mass of Solidarity members would succeed in isolating the extremists, that despite everything the lead in the key teams of this organization would be taken by people who thought realistically and, what is most important, were linked with socialism. We thought that they would manage sincerely to detach themselves from the concept of activity which caused, which had to cause, the application of emergency measures. Such were the (?expectations). Life showed that they were unfounded.

One more circumstance, which is important in the context of the above-mentioned reproach: After 13 December, the state authorities held talks with some moderate Solidarity activists on the subject of possibly reconstructing workers' solidarity with a trade union character. These talks did not, however, lead to public actions of such a degree and scale which would have made it possible to take the Solidarity banner from the hands of extremists.

It is self-evident that if the Solidarity leaders, the leading activists and advisers, had availed themselves of the above chance, then their position over the next months would have been different. They did not, however, take advantage of this chance. This was above all a result of the already mentioned dizziness with success. On the basis of the successes achieved before 13 December, they were still extremely sure of themselves. They thought they could still afford to take over power, to demolish the structures of the socialist state. They entirely disregarded the proposals announced at the end of February this year by the Council of Ministers Committee for Cooperation With The Trade Unions. They restrained their activists from participating in the discussion about them and, what is even worse, they moved on to illegal underground activity.

The following months brought the expansion of the underground structures of the union, the activization of the struggle against the legal institutions of the state authorities, the organization of strikes, the printing of leaflets and papers which were pervaded by a spirit of struggle against the PZPR, forces of order and the army, as well as moral terror used against those who not only wanted to be loyal to the state but who had enough of living in a state of incessant tension and nervousness, all the more so since everyone who had his head screwed on right, who has not lost commonsense, knew and understood that proceeding along the path shown by conspiratorial Solidarity activists could only exacerbate the political and economic crisis and bring upon the Polish nation even greater misfortune. Their attempts, for instance, to develop traditions of uprising among young people deserve to be severely condemned since it is their fault that young people came into conflict with the law.

One would like to ask what moral principles they professed in bringing out thousands of young workers, students and pupils into the streets of Polish cities on 31 August in order for them to demonstrate the strength and vitality of the underground structures of the union which millions of working people joined after August 1980, with pure intentions and great hopes.

One more very important fact must be added to the balance of the negative, highly unbeneficial activities of Solidarity leaders -- the association of the emigre activists of the union with the most reactionary forces of the imperialist camp, the intelligence service of Western states and the open, shameless flirtation with the extreme anti-Polish revanchist right in the FRG.

These are facts, esteemed gathering, which must be talked about today, which must be noticed in considering the future of the trade union movement in our country. The period of considering this must, could become a factor which would halt the process of normalization of sociopolitical relations in Poland. The political and state leadership of the country has come to the conclusion that one must not postpone indefinitely the reconstruction of the trade union movement. It is precisely because there is a crisis that trade unions, which could help in overcoming it and above all in sharing better and more justly what we have, are needed.

One should also avoid a situation becoming permanent in which the administration would get used to functioning without asking its trade union partner for views. There is also no doubt that dotting the i's on the issue of the future of the trade union movement is essential, if one can put it thus, in order to clarify the psychological and political situation. The point is that the uncertainty existing up to now about the future structure of trade unions makes the crystalization of views and attitudes difficult and delays it. Quite a number of people would like to know about the world they live in -- which direction to head in. [sentence as heard] Opinions on the future shade of the trade union movement vary. Some people want the restoration of structures which existed prior to 13 December -- the restoration of Solidarity, industrial, autonomous and the other trade unions. Others hold the view that nothing can guarantee that this would not recreate the same situation as the one that existed until 13 December -- the return of the strike Polonaise, a wave of demagogic demands, various sorts of demonstrations, perhaps some new roundabout, perhaps a new hunger march, new postulates, new unrealistic demands, and, after a time, once again a course towards confrontation, tongue-wagging and the like.

Still others say: Let us say that the pre-December structure of trade unions is reborn and that within that framework Solidarity squeezes itself, partly of its own accord and partly under the pressure of circumstances, into a corset woven from the principles contained in the theses of the Council of Ministers Committee on Cooperation With Trade Unions. One can assume in advance that both domestic opposition and President Reagan, who speaks out in defense of trade union issues, with great zeal -- but not in his country -- in Poland, and the whole reactionary company from Radio Free Europe and other centers tempered in the struggle against socialist Poland would shout in a loud voice that communists have stolen the name and are creating a false, regime Solidarity.

But let us assume that another version might be accepted. For example: The construction of a new trade union edifice on the basis of the branch industrial unions. Well, in this case, too, we would get shouted at. People would say that we are creating regime unions -- obedient to the party, pro-government. In turn it is necessary to add that it is a fact that the branch industrial unions acting after August 1980 did not receive the support of the majority of the working class, despite the fact that they were independent, self-governing and that they valiantly defended the interests of working people -- I know about this, too, because I negotiated with them.

They were regarded -- unjustly, in my view -- as the heirs of the former structures of the Central Trade Union Council. It happened like this because the Solidarity leadership presented them thus in the eyes of the workforce and firmly rejected all proposals to sit with the branch unionists on the matters of a uniform stance towards the authorities on issues concerning the vital interests of the working class.

I take this opportunity to give full emphasis to the fact that the branch unions were also new unions. They were also independent and self-governmening. An impartial and at the same time profound view of all that took place in the trade union movement over the period between August and December cannot fail to lead to the conclusion that we experienced 15 months of great confusion and chaos, the intermingling of positive and negative phenomena, passions that were difficult for a fruitful mind to control and unrealistic concepts large and small. Howe could one (?unite these knots) -- how separate the chaff from the grain?

I think that one should share the view that the most sensible way out would be to treat these 15 months as a closed chapter in the Polish trade union movement. This closing does not mean condemnation of what has happened. Closing means at the same time opening a new chapter, creating a chance to emerge from the chaos.

The opening of a new chapter in the history of the Polish trade union movement should take place through a total departure from union structures which have existed up until now, at the same time remembering the faces of workers who were striking in August 1980. Great hopes were written on their faces. Most often they were justified. We are not allowed to disappoint these hopes.

This method of thinking, realistic and honest, lies at the bases of corrections which the Council of State has introduced into the draft act which was jointly negotiated in 1981 by all trade union centers and the unamalgamated unions at the time. The draft act was adopted by Sejm commissions several days ago. The backbone of the draft of the new act is the main idea of the agreements signed by the government commission, signed by the government commission (as heard) with striking workers, and not with Solidarity and any other union, in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie.

This idea from the agreement in Gdansk is expressed in points one and two. The first says, and I quote: It is recognized as expedient to create a new, self-governing trade union which would be an authentic representative of the working class.

The second [point] states that in creating new independent, self-governing trade unions, the Interfactory Strike Committee states that they will observe the principles determined in the Polish People's Republic Constitution. The new trade unions will defend the social and material interests of employees and will not intend to fulfill the role of a political party.

In the Szczecin agreement this idea is expressed in point one, which states: It has been agreed that on the basis of expert opinions, it will be possible to create self-governing trade unions which will be socialist in nature in accordance with the Polish Constitution.

Although strikes in the socialist system argue with its nature, the right to strike has been preserved in the draft act, on which the Sejm will debate tomorrow because such was and is the will of the working class. However, experiences last year showed that abusing the right to strike and hastily calling strikes causes bad results, wears out the economy and therefore in the end, it strikes at the conditions of life of the working people. That is why strikes, according to the draft act, are only the final means of speaking for one's causes. They can be used if other, less drastic methods fail. This is in agreement with the general views of almost all the working people and also with trade union laws of all those countries where the right to strike is guaranteed.

A conciliation procedure has been introduced on the basis of negotiations between the parties and arbitration by a special court institution. Only if talks or negotiations do not help will it be possible to proclaim a strike.

The draft gives the trade unions broad powers based on the draft agreed upon in November 1981. In the sphere of social and everyday matters, the present draft, in comparison with the preceding one, even expands the powers of the trade unions. Nothing which concerns working conditions, wages and life can be determined in Poland without the participation of the trade unions.

If the trade unions do not agree to some projects or decisions of the state or economic administration, concerning wages, (?or) working conditions and the standard of living, then such decisions will not be able to be made. The draft bill creates the legal guarantees for this. Moreover, it ensures that the trade unions will have the means to bring up their arguments in conflict situations and defines the procedure for solving contradictions with the employers.

Replying to the fundamental problem of what sort of unions there will be, the draft envisages that all former union registrations will be rendered invalid. That means that after the bill is adopted the trade unions which were only suspended under martial law will cease to exist. This concerns all unions: Solidarity, the industrial and autonomous trade unions, as well as those which were not affiliated with any of the existing organizations. A certain chapter in the most recent history of our nation and state concludes with this. This will be a very bold and courageous step. I consider it, however, to be the only sensible one in the situation which has arisen in the trade union movement. This will be a very difficult operation but a necessary one.

A restoration of the structures suspended on 13 December would plunge us again into incessant conflicts, quarrels and the like. Poland really cannot afford such a luxury today. Even if today the solution which seems the most correct will evoke, apart from favorable reactions, unfavorable ones as well, then I think that after a certain time, after the emotions have subsided and after verification of the fact that the unions which will come into being will not be a true brother of the unions existing before August 1980 -- although, to speak frankly, even those pre-August unions have their lasting achievements and in particular they have many union activists -- that the working people will avail themselves of the new unions for the defense of their justified interests.

They will create from them unions fully independent of the administration, self-governing in their decisions, saturated with the spirit of partnership and a feeling of joint responsibility for the present and the future of the country.

By invalidating all the court registrations of unions until now, thereby creating a zero starting point, the act, at the same time, will open the process of creation of the new union movement. It is envisaged that in the first phase of its creation the trade union movement will be created in work enterprises and nowhere else. This is a guarantee that nobody will impose union programs, regulations, leaders, and such on the workforces. This will provide protection from manipulation, from reaching agreements in studies, over the heads of the workers.

Only when the new movement has consolidated itself is it envisaged to pass over into the next stage, that is, the creation of over-enterprise structures, if the unionists consider this necessary.

The new trade union movement will not be born in an empty field but on a reinforced construction site. Reinforced in the sense that the Polish trade union movement has massive traditions and certainly not only negative ones. These are class union traditions which are dozens of years old. There also exist completely fresh experiences. If, for example, one takes Solidarity, then independent of the line of the national and regional leadership of this organization, more than one enterprise cell of Solidarity has useful union achievements in representing workers' interests. One cannot reject the achievement of the strong, workers' movement which exists in this union.

Also the industrial, autonomous movement, as well as unamalgamated unions, in the period after August, have amassed many new, beneficial experiences which should be used for the good of the working people. In a word, everything which is good should be preserved and continued.

The newly born trade unions from below, from the work enterprise, must (?give and) create the same chance for all workers, irrespective of whether or where they belonged previously, for nonparty members and party members, believers and nonbelievers. They should all be able to and should find in it an outlet for their social-work (spolecznikowskie) ambitions.

Not only union membership, however, but also union posts must be open to representatives of all parts of the union movement. No doubt the participation of experienced unionists inheriting good union traditions will be certain. One should also count on members of Solidarity which, as a mass movement, has concentrated great social energy, dynamism, youth and great hopes, irrespective of the bad political intentions of its ringleaders and the distortions to which they have pushed this movement.

Of course, in the reborn union movement there will be no room for anybody who wants to act against our system and government. That is not in accordance with the act. On the other hand, one should also remember the possibility of an appearance of factional tendencies. We must decisively oppose them. All those values that served to strengthen the dignity of the working man and strengthened in him the feeling of equality and the belief that socialism -- social justice -- is now just a [word indistinct] cliche should be, must be, transferred to the reborn trade union movement from the unions, until now.

Esteemed comrades, my desire was to present to you the causes that speak for the choice of that path suggested by the draft act on trade unions. All that I said today stems from the belief that there is no other, better way. Considering everything for and against, the pluses and minuses, and analyzing the shaping of the internal situation of the country, as well as the international situation, I believe that a real possibility of taking a significant step forward in the cause of shaping social relations, so that they fulfill our ideas of socialism, exists precisely along this path.

I am perfectly aware that when the fact that, as a result of a Sejm act, the registration of all unions existing until now has lost validity reaches the consciousness of millions of people, their first reaction will be rememberance of that which had existed, which has gone by. Then they will face the question of whether to join the new unions or keep away from them. I do not intend to give advice. The choice will be a personal matter for each working man.

I also do not deny that there will be those in whom emotions will win over a sober view, and anger may push them into incalculable actions. Others yet will close within themselves: They will decide that they will persist in obstinacy and cultivate bitterness and grudges. I believe that politicians and social activists, in the conviction of correctness of what they do, should maintain calm and moderation in assessing reactions that may occur after the act draft is adopted by the Sejm.

Time will smooth out corners that are sharp today, and daily experience will confirm the correctness of the path that we propose to follow on behalf of the unionists -- both those who will notice in the new act a great chance to create a trade union movement that will fulfill the justified aspirations of the working class and the whole world of work and those who will turn away from it in the first moment.

I would like to address the latter by recalling the first postwar years. I was then a very young officer who was taking part in active defense of people's power and so for understandable reasons I was distrustful of anybody who was against us, not to mention those who shot at us, at the time. Later, as years went by, many of our then-opponents left their trenches and their names have begun to appear on the front pages of papers. Today a significant number of them have considerable achievements in the construction of socialist Poland.

Also, along different paths after the wartime exile, people who were averse or openly hostile to the new authorities returned to the country. They had met a social system which was neither easy nor well disposed to them. They had lived through difficult times, but today, similar to those mentioned above, they are amongst us and with us.

This happens in such way because we have one fatherland, because socialism in the Polish lands, despite various differences and not at all inconsiderable errors and distortions, is a system that has ensured great historical progress and civilizational advances for Poland and has opened the way for the social advancement of millions [word indistinct] of workers and peasants.

It is a system that has ensured a priceless gain, about which one cannot forget for a moment, for our heavily-tried nation, the security and stability of our fatherland's borders.

Even if I lay myself open to the accusation that I have an idealistic outlook on the world, I want to state to you here that I deeply believe that the path along which we are marching is correct and that along this path new, independent and self-governing trade unions will be created, which will enjoy the full confidence of the working people and which we, the economic and state administration, will watch and control vigilantly. Thank you. (applause)

SOLIDARITY DISCOURAGES DEMONSTRATIONS 8 OCT

NC081250 Paris AFP in English 1244 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Oct 8 (AFP) -- The suspended independent trade union Solidarity has urged Poles to avert clashes today with police by avoiding all protest action as parliament debates a new trade union bill geared to ban the independent union. The Polish press meanwhile indicated for the first time today that the trade union bill, expected to come into effect tomorrow following its near certain adoption by parliament later today, will trigger the immediate dissolution of the currently suspended union.

A leaflet issued by Solidarity's underground coordinating committee lashed out against the "illegal" bill but urged workers not to demonstrate today. "We cannot allow the adversary to set its own hour and form of struggle", it said. The leaflet, which was printed on Monday but delivered here today, said the parliament was "not competent" to "eliminate Solidarity". But if it did, Solidarity "will not respect" the ban. "We will pursue our struggle for the union's legal right to exist and for the respect of workers' and citizens' rights", it said.

The exact terms of the trade union legislation remain unknown following major amendements by the government, some of which stem from "suggestions" made by the Geneva-based International Labour Organisation. But while many MP's are extremely bitter at having to take a stand on a law they know to be unpopular, the authorities nonetheless expect it to be adopted.

There were few police stationed around the parliament early today, but security is likely to be stepped up before the session opens. Solidarity leaflets circulating in the Polish capital yesterday called on protests around the building and threatened MP's against voting in the law.

Unconfirmed reports meanwhile reported that people believed to be close to Solidarity had already been arrested. Protest calls were however described as a "provocation". Solidarity's underground leadership has apparently decided to abstain from protest action for the moment, and call for a boycott of the "new unions" once they are firmly established early next year.

Supporters of the union were meanwhile glued to their radios today in the hope of receiving firm directions from the pirate Radio-Solidarnosc station. Broadcasts from the radio were jammed both Wednesday and yesterday.

SECURITY FORCES BOOST PRESENCE IN WARSAW

NC071430 Paris AFP in English 1416 GMT 7 Oct 82

[By Jacques Michel Tondre]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 7 (AFP) -- Security forces have boosted their presence in the Polish capital just one day before parliament is scheduled to debate new labor legislation that is widely expected to ban the already suspended independent trade union Solidarity.

Mechanized militia units, known as ZOMO, that have been used to disperse past demonstrations, have reappeared in the streets here while parking lots belonging to four hotels are again occupied by trucks and vehicles with militia markings. It was only two weeks ago that militiamen were said to have evacuated the hotels they had occupied during public disturbances last August.

The draft law, the text of which has yet to be presented to the Polish public, would nullify the legal basis of not only Solidarity but nearly all other workers' organizations as well. In their place, the government has proposed the formation of new unions at the factory level that would be self-governing but comparatively limited in their activities. Polish authorities appeared to be bracing themselves for protests from the eight to ten million workers who had joined Solidarity and who reportedly have maintained their loyalty to the movement despite its suspension last December 13 and the internment of its leader, Lech Walesa.

Mr Walesa, who is being held in a government residence in southeastern Poland near the Soviet border, is a candidate this year for the Nobel Peace Prize, scheduled to be announced October 13. With other senior Solidarity leaders likewise detained, Polish authorities are said by various sources to be prepared to permit Mr Walesa and his family to travel to Oslo to receive the prize. Mr Walesa's wife, Danuta, who has been living in Gdansk with their seven children, had planned to visit her husband, after a meeting with the Polish primate, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, last week. Mrs Walesa, however, today indicated that the authorities had cancelled the visit and urged her to make a new request to see her husband after October 15.

Observers here connected the date not only to the possibility of Mr Walesa's winning the Nobel Peace Prize but to the apparently imminent dismantling of Solidarity as well. The Catholic Church, while openly expressing its anxiety in the face of possible new tension in the country, has remained cautious in its response to the current circumstances, although Archbishop Glemp cancelled a visit abroad that was to have begun today. However, in a homily delivered last night before 4,000 students here, the primate made no direct reference to the current political situation.

FORMER STUDENT ACTIVIST SURRENDERS, IS RELEASED

LD072326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs press spokesman, (Wieslaw Mianowski), a student at the Department of Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry at the Mikolaj Kopernik University and a vigorous activist of the former independent students association, who had been in hiding since 13 December last year, reported today to the municipal headquarters of the Citizen's Militia in Torun. After giving detailed explanations, (Wieslaw Mianowski) was released.

PAP: 'ANARCHISTIC TRENDS' PROMPTED CRACKDOWN

LD072150 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 7 Oct 82

["Party and Trade Unions in Socialist State (by Piotr Moczar)" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw 7 Oct -- Proper relations between a workers' party and unionist movement are one of the most essential conditions of the development of socialism and a fully democratic state. If trade unions in a socialist country are not an authentic representation of the broadly conceived interests of working people then the very system is seriously endangered.

The Independent Self-Governed Trade Union Solidarnosc emerged on the wave of workers' indignation and mass protest. From the very beginning the party declared its positive attitude towards the reborn trade union movement, including Solidarnosc. Many party members joined the union which declared adherence to the Constitution and respect for the foundations of the socialist system. Unfortunately, in a short time extremist tendencies, activists with anti-socialist views began to win the upper hand and the union started striving to play the role of a political force.

Many a time the party made efforts to establish a constructive dialogue with Solidarnosc. Today one may say that the idea of Solidarnosc as a self-governed trade union was one of the greatest missed opportunities in Poland's post-war history. Instead of strengthening democracy in the unionist movement, anarchistic trends began to dominate in it. On December 13 it became necessary to say "halt" in the interest of the state and socialism.

Over the past two years the party's and the socialist state's stand towards trade unions was expressed in many official statements and documents which invariably stressed the need for the existence of strong, independent, self-governed trade unions effectively protecting the interests of the working people. These trade unions, however, should respect the legal order and the principles of the Constitution. The party itself needs strong unions, as relations between a workers' party and the unions are the foundation of the party's links with the working masses and determine the functioning of a socialist state.

The Central Committee's paper at the party 9th extraordinary congress stressed with full strength that the party regards the union movement as a representative of social interests of the workers independent of the administration. The congress document underlined that the party many a time publicly declared its constructive attitude towards Solidarnosc. At the same time it was stressed with concern that all opponents of socialism placed their hopes in taking advantage of Solidarnosc's influence. After the 9th congress extremists circles in Solidarnosc intensified their destructive activity.

The party restoring its authority was an enormous threat for the plan of extremist circles in Solidarnosc. For only a strong party enjoying prestige could play the leading role in the country, also vis a vis trade unions. The party's prestige made this role legitimate. That is why it was constantly undermined by extremists' actions.

POLITYKA COMMENTS ON ARTISTS' BOYCOTT OF MEDIA

AU071524 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 2 Oct 82 p 3

[Commentary signed 'Komentator': "The Consequences of Boycott"]

[Text] Artistic circles are boycotting Polish Radio and Polish television and refusing to take part in any public performance that could be construed as an expression of support for the Military Council for National Salvation, martial law and so on. This sort of view is rapidly spreading throughout Poland. "Radio Free Europe" repeats it constantly. What are the facts and what is rumor? It is impossible to reply to this question in a few words because the facts are very complicated. It is true that a significant number of artists, above all actors, are refusing to take part in television programs. They are firm in their refusal. On the other hand, there is a gathering of courageous and sensible performers who have decided to appear on television despite the fact that many people in the artistic milieu vilify them. Caught in the middle are those artists who believe that it is their calling to play, sing and recite in theaters and on television, in halls and in the open air. And yet even those people restrict themselves to closed theater halls. They do this because they fear the opinion of their peers. This opinion is formed by several organizers of the boycott and by a certain group of artists who are more often of a lower caliber than a higher one and who are still closely connected with the activists of the underground Solidarity.

As far as these boycott organizers are concerned, some of them are living abroad and are living well. The opinion of the artistic milieu is a very effective form of struggle against those who for various reasons consider the boycott as plainly stupid. That group is able to isolate a maverick performer and even morally destroy him. Some people who have noticed that various kinds of pressure are being applied to those artists who reject the boycott, shout in indignation: What has happened to the famous Polish tolerance! or: There were times, after all, when the leaders of today's boycott looked government leaders in the eye yet fawned over them. In short, they "ate out of their hands". And now, when assurances are made to them that the model of control over culture established by Jerzy Lukaszewica [former Central Committee secretary under Gierek] belongs to the past, they oppose the authorities. I believe the indignation is unjustified because one should be aware of the fact that the leaders of the boycott are conducting the most common political struggle in the world. Although they themselves constantly bandy about such words as morality, it is not a question of morality here but of pure politics, of ordinary political ambitions. It is true that no one may forbid politicizing, yet when one listens to the ideas put forward by some artists who are staging a front of refusal, it makes one's hair stand on end. What these ideas do not contain! They say that John Paul II will decide on a change in the situation to Solidarity's advantage, in other words on a return to the state of affairs that existed before 13 December, 1981, and they say that Reagan will force the Polish authorities to make concessions and that something will happen at last in Moscow which will alter the course of events in Poland. Finally, there are those politically-minded artists who believe that a situation in which blood would flow in our country would be morally acceptable. You will say that these are simple aberrations. Of course they are, but that does not change things.

Let us now ask the question: To whom does the boycott bring the greatest losses? To the authorities? No. Above all, to the millions of Poles who watch television and listen to the radio. All those actors who refuse to take part in television and radio shows deprive their fellow-countrymen of many profound experiences and emotions that influence a person's spiritual development. Yet they also impoverish themselves and, what is more, slowly but inexorably cease to be popular idols. That is because today radio and television are the most accessible mass media. Those values that the artist considers important can be disseminated among millions of people, and the artist can also popularize his art and himself. Popularizing one's self is a private matter but it is not a private matter to deprive millions of citizens of the experiences they have the right to demand from artists. If one were to use a rather simple argument, it is worthwhile to remember that an artist is supported by the worker who belongs to Solidarity and who lives for it as well as by the worker who believes he can live without Solidarity. The boycott of radio and television that is being imposed on the artistic milieus and also the moral censure of those who regard cooperation with these institutions, with the press and so on as a normal and justifiable thing seriously undermines (not only financially) young artists with little experience. These artists would like to prove themselves and show the community their talents. The boycott will lengthen their road to a career and to the achievement of popularity, without which an artist cannot live. Therefore, the leaders of the boycott and the organizers of moral pressure must take the responsibility for a bad start to the careers of many young artists.

What should the authorities do in order to cause the boycott to collapse? I think they should do nothing or almost nothing. They should certainly not ask the initiators of the boycott and the organizers of the pressure to withdraw from this action. The matter should be left to those most concerned. If, for example, individual artistic groups accept the minority imposing its will on the majority -- who, as we know, would gladly like to end the boycott -- then it is their business. All concerned parties know that leadership of radio and television places no obstacles in the path leading to the television camera for those artists who have something to say in their profession.

As far as the abovementioned leadership is concerned, I would advise them to take the following steps:

First, let Chairman Loranc stand in front of a camera and explain to the millions of viewers why he shows reruns and an increased number of old films; second, let some from television -- from time to time -- inform people of the names of those artists who have refused offers to appear in a television show. I believe that measures like these suit democratic customs very well.

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES ENGINEERS ON CONGRESS EVE

LD071504 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Today, the eve of the Polish engineers congress, Wojciech Jaruzelski received a group of activists of the chief technical organization. The party Central Committee first secretary was informed on the state of preparations for the congress and on the results of precongress discussion, during which the collective of engineers and technicians acquainted themselves with fundamental socioeconomic problems of the country, and against this background drew conclusions and formulated proposals concerning a bitter utilization of technological cadres and Polish technological thought.

Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that the great role of engineers and technicians in socioeconomic and socialist development of the country, the activeness of technical cadres and their good work is of great importance in leading the country out of its economic crisis and further development. Speaking on the tasks of technical cadres, the premier stressed the need to improve the technical level and quality of production. This is necessary above all in order to increase exports and improve their effectiveness. The economic reform being introduced at present opens up great opportunities also for the technological cadres.

Interior Ministry Officials

LD071542 Warsaw PAP in English 1407 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Warsaw 6 Oct -- On the eve of the 38th anniversary of the establishing of the Citizens' Milita and security service, PUWP CC First Secretary, Prime Minister, Chairman of the Martial Council of National Redemtion Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski met with a group of Interior Ministry functionaries.

Present were representatives of militia and security service services who informed the general on the successes and shortcomings in combating delinquency.

Addressing his guests Gen Jaruzelski underlined the particularly responsible role played by the Interior Ministry officers unfailingly protecting, in the present difficult conditions, the socialist state and society against the internal and external threats.

MORAWSKI ADDRESSES CHRISTIAN ACTIVISTS

LD071544 Warsaw PAP in English 1445 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Warsaw 7 Oct -- Activists of the Christian Social Association (ChSS) who have been working in various units of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth met yesterday in Warsaw.

In his address Kazimierz Morawski, the president of the ChSS and member of the Council of State, underlined that by giving broad support to the patriotic movement the association will contribute to the establishment of its social base in the Christian circles.

He also stressed the special significance of the Christian and national values which should penetrate all activities in public life.

The activists of ChSS participating in the patriotic movement wish to work for the cause of overcoming the attitudes of negation and wait-and-see approach by inciting broad circles of society, for social activity in the service of national agreement and revival.

The necessary effort of reform and improvement can only bear fruit in Poland given social peace, moral order and patriotic cooperation.

THIRD QUARTER PROGRESS REPORT PUBLISHED

LD071536 Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Warsaw 6 Oct -- The Government Press Office issued the following report on the government's accomplishments in the 3rd quarter of the current year.

The economic situation of the country was the main subject of interest to the government.

The Council of Ministers defined variants of the assumptions of the national socio-economic plan for the years 1983-1985 and outlined the strategic tasks up to 1990, and -- within the above mentioned variants -- defined preliminary assumptions of the central plan for 1983.

Preparations were also started of a draft state budget, balance of payments and the balance of incomes and expenditures of the population for 1983.

On September 17 the government Presidium assessed the results of trade with abroad. The analysis shows that a considerable shift took place in Poland's foreign trade in favour of cooperation with socialist countries.

As regards rationalization of agriculture and food economy, which is of basic significance for feeding the nation, the most important problem in the third quarter of this year was to ensure conditions for efficient and quick harvest and the full use of the crops. The government Presidium set the principles of state purchase of the cereals in 1982 and of supplies of vegetables, fruit and potatoes for individual and collectives recipients in autumn of 1982.

The balance-sheet of cereals and fodder for the economic year 1982-1983 was assessed and the principles of planned increase of cereals purchases up to 5.5 million tonnes were set.

The state of introduction of the economic reform in the first half of 1982 was assessed by the Council of Ministers on September 27.

The Council of Ministers approved the to-date performances of enterprises and bodies of the state administration in introducing the economic reform and reaffirmed the government's consistent will to continue effective actions in favour of restructuring the system of the functioning of the economy to speed up the process of overcoming the economic crisis.

The Council of Ministers determined the directions of changes in the system of functioning of state-owned enterprises in 1983.

The Council of Ministers obliged the founding bodies in enterprises to speed up decisions to resume the activity of self-management.

On August 17, the Council of Ministers examined a report on the state of health of the population and assessed the state of accomplishment of programmes of health protection and social welfare.

Decisions were taken to transfer hard currency for imports of ready medicines and components for their production in Poland. Decisions were also taken to subsidise the building of hospitals from the state budget in 1983.

Work on setting the pay system in order is under way.

Work on draft laws of great social significance has been completed. For example, the draft law on pensions for employees and their families which envisages the restructuring of the system of pensions was submitted to the Polish Sejm (parliament).

In the field of regulation of market issues, the rules for sales of rationed articles was made uniform and system of local rationing was abolished. The system of steered sale of short-supplied and sought-after durables was ushered in.

Conditions for securing market supplies of meat and its products till the end of this year were listed, upholding the rationing norms at the to-date level.

The Council of Ministers took up work to regulate the tax policy principles.

Poland's extra-economic cooperation with foreign countries and the problems of employment of Polish citizens in foreign countries came under the government's review on September 17. The will of scientific and cultural cooperation along the lines of full respect of mutual commitments and principles, set forth in the CSCE declaration to which Poland acceded, was reaffirmed. Attention was called to cases of discriminatory actions by Western states.

The principles for passport-giving policy to be submitted to the government were also worked out.

CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION SESSION HELD 6 OCT

LD071554 Warsaw PAP in English 1402 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Oct -- The Central Commission for Party Control got together here today to specify its current and long-ranging tasks against the background of the experience of its activity after the 9th Congress of the PUWP and an analysis of the present key socio-political problems.

The meeting was attended, among others, by members of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP CC Miroslaw Milewski, and by Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP CC Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

A report on the commission's planned activities was presented by its chairman, Jerry Urbanski, who said that difficult tasks, both in settling many painful social and economic problems and in the fight against the enemies of socialism who did not lay down arms yet, were ahead of the party.

He went on to say that the commissions for party control should actively oppose the idle criticism of what was new, what started coming into life amid various difficulties. "The implementation of the 8th Plenum of the PUWP CC, concerning the setting up of self-managements at factories, calls for speeding up. One must not allow that self-governance of the enterprises is sued for anarchizing the economic performance. Independence cannot fuel particular activities. Self-financing cannot be used for price manipulations hitting at all honestly working. Not only by word of mouth but also by deed the party should convince the society that it does not make empty promises.

The speaker went on: "It is necessary to pool all the forces of the Polish patriotic left-wing to fight the open or camouflaged foes of socialism. The key to easing social tension, to leading the country out of the present crisis, is in the hands of the party, working in league with the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party and the patriotic forces of the Polish nation, with all people of good will full of care for the homeland. The aim is to be reaching not an ostensible but real national agreement of all those forces on the basis of the constitution of our socialist state."

Miroslaw Milewski also took the floor at the meeting to characterize the most important trends in the socio-political life of Poland. He stressed that a smaller or greater progress could be noted in all fields of building stability which is so needful for this country, over the past few months. "This proves once again the correctness of the programmatic line adopted at the 9th Congress of the PUWP, the line which wins an ever broader social approval," said he.

Plenum Resolution

LD080840 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] The resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the PZPR Central Commission for Party Control has been published.

Tasks of particular importance in the present period were said to include vigorous action for the cause of the party's further ideological and political consolidation. It was stressed that party control commissions must treat with particular severity every case of party members violating the principles of socialist social justice and ethical-moral norms.

The commission should with greater consistency participate in combating bad management, waste, incompetence, routinism, taking the easy way out and bureaucracy, which make it difficult for the country to emerge from the economic crisis.

Party control commissions should systematically eliminate everything with a negative influence on the atmosphere and interpersonal relationships in work enterprises and offices. It is necessary to judge cases of suppressing criticism, raised both by party members and non-party citizens, with particular severity. The commissions should listen carefully to the opinions and observations of working people expressed in letters and complaints that arrive at the party echelons, and to the party control commissions. It is necessary to consider these closely and to give a reply to the interested parties on the mode of their consideration.

The commissions should punish and publicly censure all spiritless attitudes toward justified proposals and critical observations. The plenum pledges party control commissions of all levels to take part actively in the PZPR's approaching report-back campaign.

ZSL SUPREME COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM 7 OCT

LD071906 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] The Ninth Plenum of the ZSL Supreme Committee has held a session in Warsaw. The conference, which was chaired by Chairman of the Supreme Committee Roman Malinowski, was devoted to variants of the national socioeconomic plan for the next 3 years, as well as preliminary assumptions for the years 1986-90, with special consideration of matters to do with agriculture and the food economy.

The questions were reviewed against the background of the present, difficult economic situation. It was stated that especially in such specific crisis conditions, a really preferential treatment of needs connected with food production is essential.

It was stressed that the consistent implementation of correct decisions, increased efforts by the whole of society and the harmonious cooperation of town and villages are very significant as regards speeding up a solution to the crisis and therefore for improving the development conditions of agriculture.

DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR VATICAN CEREMONIES

LD071328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] On 10 October the canonization of the Franciscan priest, Father Maksymilian Kolbe, will take place in the Vatican. He was murdered by the Nazis in the death camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. An official delegation of the Polish authorities, led by Deputy Speaker of the Sejm Jerzy Ozdowski has left for the ceremonies. The delegation includes: Deputy Premier, Chairman of the Pax Asscoiation Zenon Komender; member of the Council of State, Chairman of the Christian Social Association Kazimierz Morawski; minister, head of the Office for Religious Affairs, Adam Lopatka; and head of the group for permanent working contacts between the Government of Poland and the Holy See, Councillor-Minister Jerzy Kuberski.

About 3,500 pilgrims are coming from Poland for the canonization ceremonies. Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, archbishops Bronislaw Dabrowski, Henryk Gulginowicz and Jerzy Stroba and a group of bishops are already in Italy. Another group of 13 bishops left today.

PRESS CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN TRADE SITUATION

LD080734 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] In the office of the government press spokesman, a press conference has taken place with Tadeusz Nestorowicz, minister of foreign trade, who presented the current situation of the economy in this sphere. Here are several facts and conclusions:

In September the growth trend in export was maintained. This is above all attributed to the distinct -- as compared with last year -- growth in the export of coal and copper. During the first three quarters of this year, we have sold goods to customers from the socialist and capitalist countries with a total value of almost Z655 billion. Export was greater than import by over Z56 billion. However, with the CEMA countries, we have a negative trade balance of Z31 billion while with the capitalist countries it is positive at Z87 billion.

Trade relations with Western countries are burdened by the issue of sanctions, as well as by our indebtedness and the failure of the governments of states acting as guarantors to the banks of the credits extended to us to participate in talks. Export to the second payment zone [capitalist countries] is still below the level achieved last year, except that this decline is systematically decreasing.

REPORT ON OLSZOWSKI'S VISIT TO COLOMBIA

LD071910 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Stefan Olszowski, minister of foreign affairs, has ended a visit to Colombia. He was received at a special audience by Dr Belisario Betancourt, president of the Colombian Republic. Minister Stefan Olszowski passed along to him an invitation from Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, to pay an official visit to Poland.

Stefan Olszowski was also received by (Bernardo Guerra Serna), chairman of the National Congress, and held talks with the minister of mines and energy, Carlos Martines Zimmahan. He also made a courtesy visit to Bogota Mayor Augusto Ramierz Ocampo.

The ministers of foreign affairs of Poland and Colombia held talks on the state of and the development of bilateral relations as well as on the current situation in the world. Anxiety was expressed over the serious growth of tension in international relations which requires all states, irrespective of their political and economic systems, to intensify activities to eliminate these tensions in various regions of the world by strengthening dialogue. Both ministers have also spoken out for a successful conclusion to the next round of meetings in Madrid of the member states of the CSCE. They expressed anxiety at the deterioration of the situation in the Near East and pointed to the need to rapidly and comprehensively solve this question.

More on Visit

LD080542 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski has ended a visit to Colombia.

The positive contribution of Latin America to the cause of peace and progress was stressed.

Both statesmen expressed the view that protectionist policies and applications by some developed states of economic means of coercion is highly detrimental to interests of all countries. The ministers confirmed that the complementary nature of the Polish and Colombian economies creates a possibility of intensifying economic cooperation and expressed special interest in broadening cooperation in new areas, such as modernization of agriculture, development of river transport and cooperation in the area of coal mining. At the same time they expressed interest in development of trade, including purchase by Poland of Colombian agricultural and industrial products, and by Colombia of Polish investment project equipment. The ministers also expressed interest in the development of mutual cultural contacts.

Minister Stefan Olszowski invited Minister Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo to pay a visit to Poland. The invitation was received with satisfaction.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON U.S. IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE

LD051554 Warsaw PAP in English 1414 GMT 5 Oct 82

[Text] Warsaw 5 Oct -- "A draft programme now being considered in U.S. Government circles is expected to set in motion new mechanisms of 'American support for forces of democracy worldwide'. President Reagan himself is said to be personally in charge of the initial stages of work on the programme," said TRYBUNA LUDU in an article headlined "Ronald Reagan's Fund."

The offensive on the ideological plane is said to be accompanied by creation of a special fund to be used for financing various forms of support for opposition movements in countries regarded as incompatible with the American standard of democracy.

"It is already known that the scheme is also to cover socialist states. The financing of opposition publications and press is listed among possible concrete aims to be promoted with the use of the fund," added TRYBUNA LUDU.

"The first thought that springs to mind in connection with the envisaged programme is that in fact it contains nothing new. After all it has been known for long now that the United States has been engaged in a struggle of a political shape of the world of their choice using all kinds of methods including manipulation with financial means. Also the appearance of the AFL-CIO trade union federation as a kind of intermediary in furthering the aims of the American policy abroad is no novelty," said TRYBUNA LUDU.

"Is then the openly announced U.S. intention to resort to financial means to try and shape the reality of the world to be seen simply as continuation of the scheme? Not quite so, perhaps.

"We are witnessing a kind of attempt to upgrade the most unceremonious methods of influencing the course of world events according to the U.S. desire," TRYBUNA LUDU charged.

"As far as we (Poland) are concerned, we would like to draw attention to one aspect only. We have never seen the Western interference or infiltration as the principal source of conflicts and difficulties experienced by Poland.

"Having nothing in common with such tendency, we do see the surrounding world exactly as it is. If the United States feels that not only political but also financial support of the antisocialist opposition is a normal thing worthy to be institutionalized then we can hardly be expected to regard all to date manifestations of subversion simply as myths," concluded TRYBUNA LUDU.

APN ANALYZES REAGAN'S 'PROJECT TRUTH'

AU071500 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 82 p 6

[APN article by Prof Dr D. Volkogonov: "Soviet Viewpoint -- a Lie in the Mantle of 'Truth'" -- especially for TRYBUNA LUDU -- passages in uppercase published in boldface]

[Text] IN SEPTEMBER 1981 PRESIDENT REAGAN SIGNED A DIRECTIVE ON EXPANDING THE IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION AGAINST THE USSR. THE DIRECTIVE WAS GIVEN THE CODENAME "PROJECT TRUTH". WITH TYPICAL CYNICISM THE PRESENT U.S. ADMINISTRATION HAS RAISED LIES AND DISINFORMATION TO THE STATUS OF TRUTH. WHY DOES WASHINGTON NEED THIS "PROJECT?" WHAT ARE ITS AIMS?

The memorandum circulated by the International Communication Agency which has now reverted to its former name -- the U. S. Information Agency -- stressed the two goals Washington intended to achieve with the help of "Project Truth." THE FIRST GOAL WAS TO PRESENT U.S. POLICY AS A GUARANTEE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM AND AS A DEFENSE AGAINST WORLD COMMUNISM. THE OTHER GOAL, AS THE MEMORANDUM ANNOUNCED, "IS TO STRESS BY EVERY MEANS THE MILITARY THREAT" ALLEGEDLY PRESENTED TO THE ENTIRE WORLD BY THE USSR.

In other words, intensifying foreign policy propaganda and, in fact, fanning the psychological war against real socialism is what Washington needs to justify its own policy, which is aimed at achieving hegemony in the world and at achieving one-sided military superiority over the USSR. Propaganda activities are being used to ideologically conceal a new round of military preparations by the Pentagon and to justify the adoption of a new and most dangerous strategy of "direct armed confrontation" (which envisages both a "limited" and an "extended" nuclear war and a victory in either) and the intensification of interference in the affairs of independent countries.

WE KNOW THAT AFTER "PROJECT TRUTH" WAS APPROVED, SOME 10,000 EMPLOYEES OF THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY AND ITS 201 BRANCHES IN 125 COUNTRIES -- IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE CIA -- INTENSIFIED THE BANDITRY ON THE RADIO WAVES AND INCREASED THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AGAINST THE USSR AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY AGAINST POLAND, LAUNCHING NEW PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGNS AND IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION NONSTOP.

New services were also set up on the strength of the aforementioned project. One such service is in charge of "information about Soviet propaganda" and publishes a special bulletin for its extensive network. The bulletin indicates specific lines of ideological subversion against the USSR. All this goes hand in hand with an especially strong stress placed on the supposed growth of the "Soviet military threat."

Another service -- one which deals with "rapidly responding with the help of information" -- deals with effectively "responding" to the socialist countries' foreign policy actions aimed at strengthening peace and national security and at maintaining and developing detente. Still another service, which publishes the bulletin AMERICA TODAY, deals with propagating "the attractive aspects of U. S. reality."

Indeed, it can be said that although people in the United States hear few statements about the implementation of "Project Truth," the U.S. Information Agency, the CIA, the State Department and the President's aides continue to devote special attention to it. IN FACT THIS "PROJECT" REPRESENTS THE DOCTRINE OF THE UNDECLARED EXTENSIVE IDEOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR DIRECTED AGAINST THE USSR AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

An analysis of the activities of the U.S. propaganda units implementing the "project" shows that SPECULATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE NOTORIOUS LEGEND ABOUT THE SO-CALLED SOVIET MILITARY THREAT ARE THE MAIN LINE OF ALL THE KINDS OF IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION PRACTICED BY THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY AND OTHER CENTERS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE. The efforts to ensure that the citizens in the capitalist countries are continuously obsessed with "communist aggression" are the red threat of the entire bourgeois propaganda. This is one of the chief mainsprings of the militaristic forces' influence on the internal and foreign policy of the Western bourgeois countries. Every means that increases the arms race can always and easily be justified by the "increase in or at least the existence of a Soviet military threat."

Every day and every hour the bourgeois mass media hammer this basic idea into the minds of their audience: The Soviet threat is not a myth, it is a reality. The bourgeois mass media allege scores and hundreds of "arguments" concocted through the manipulation of the facts, through directly falsifying events and through promoting the most impudent lies that arouse fear in the minds of politically inexperienced people.

The bourgeois mass media practice sophisticated manipulation with the feelings of the petty and middle bourgeoise, which, because of its class character and disinformation, IS NOT READY TO RECOGNIZE THE EQUAL SECURITY OF THE STATES WITHIN THE TWO SYSTEMS AS A CORRECT THESIS. The desirability, "legality" and even inevitability of nuclear war are justified with the help of anti-Sovietism.

The myth about the "Soviet military threat" serves a most definite ideological-political function, which involves falsifying the true balance of military power and justifying the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism. Promoting this function, the sponsors of "Project Truth" use many arguments that are supposed to demonstrate the "truthfulness" of the old legend about the so-called Soviet danger. Some of these arugments are:

"ARGUMENT" ONE IS THE FOUNDATION OF A BIG LIE AND STATES THAT THE "WEST WILL BE A VICTIM OF WORLD COMMUNISM" IF IT DOES NOT INTENSIFY ITS MILITARY EFFORTS ALL THE TIME.

"ARGUMENT" TWO, WHICH IS ALSO A LIE, STATES THAT THE "SOVIET DANGER" THREATENS ABOVE ALL THE EUROPEAN ALLIES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THAT THEY MUST REINFORCE THEIR ARMAMENTS AT ALL TIMES. Wishing to curb antiwar and anti-American moods that are now widespread in Western Europe, Washington hawks are not reticent in darkly forecasting that the Soviet Union, having achieved a supposedly crushing superiority, "will paralyze the people's resolve to resist and will one fine day present an ultimatum to Europe demanding its surrender." The U.S. partners in NATO are being blackmailed and frightened so that they will assume a large part of the burden of military expenditures and not object to U.S. new nuclear weapons on their territories.

"ARGUMENT" THREE CONCERNING THE MYTH OF THE "SOVIET MILITARY THREAT" EXPLAINS WHY THE UNITED STATES MUST BE "THE LEADER OF THE WORLD," AROUND WHOM ALL THE ANTISOCIALIST FORCES -- NATO, JAPAN AND THE OTHER CAPITALIST COUNTRIES -- MUST RALLY. Because the "Soviet danger", U.S. political expert I. MacGiry writes, threatens the entire civilization, the entire "Free World" should become united, with the United States at the head. Indeed, this argument is used to JUSTIFY THE ASPIRATIONS AND REAL ACTIVITIES OF THE MILITARISTIC CIRCLES AIMED AT UNDERMINING THE HISTORICALLY DEVELOPED MILITARY-STRATEGIC BALANCE BETWEEN THE WORLD OF SOCIALISM AND THE WORLD OF CAPITALISM. Extensive military preparations -- polishing off the doctrinal aggressive directives, improving the army's technical base, carrying out many kinds of training, concentrating troops and modernizing the bases around the USSR -- continue to accompany many statements and speeches made by high-ranking officials on the subject of the growing "danger" from the USSR and other socialist countries that is being held in check throughout the world by the executors of "Project Truth." ALL THIS IS BEING DONE IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A ONE-SIDED MILITARY SUPERIORITY OVER THE USSR.

Using similar arguments, which the "project" extensively employs, the West is trying to transform the legend about the "Soviet danger" into the typical pattern of thinking of millions and millions of people and into the stereotype of their unchanging attitude toward whatever is related to real socialism. Bourgeois propaganda needs the old anti-communist cliche about the "Soviet military threat." Without this cliche, bourgeois propaganda is incapable of explaining why the United States is promoting the arms race, why Washington has supported Israel's aggression against Lebanon, why it continues to expand the military bases throughout the world, why it is interfering in Poland's affairs and why it is stocking nuclear weapons in Western Europe. Not even the U.S. President or Charles Wick, head of the U.S. Information Agency, would be able to explain this. WITH THE HELP OF THE ARGUMENTS CONTAINED IN "PROJECT TRUTH" ATTEMPTS ARE BEING MADE TO MISLEAD MILLIONS AND MILLIONS OF PEOPLE AND TO CONCEAL THE CRUCIAL -- AND NOT ILLUSORY -- THREAT POSED BY THE PLANS DRAWN UP BY MILITARISTIC U.S. AND NATO CIRCLES. NO "PROJECTS" ARE ABLE TO HIDE THIS FACT.

TRYBUNA LUDU REVIEWS CPC CONGRESS

AU051415 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Sep 82 p 6

[Jerzy Lobman article: "Following the 12th CPC Congress -- What Is New in Its Program?" -- passages in uppercase published in boldface]

[Text] THE RECENT 12TH CPC CONGRESS IS BEING PRESENTED IN CHINA AS A MOMENTOUS EVENT. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THIS CONGRESS IS AN EVENT WORTHY OF INTEREST OUTSIDE CHINA AS WELL.

Some of the reasons for this interest are the size of the CPC (39,657,212 party members and candidates), whose further development was to be determined by the congress; the size of the society (1.076 billion, according to the most recent census) run by the CPC; the role played by China in international life; and the range of the problems tackled by the congress.

THE CONGRESS ACTUALLY FACED THREE TASKS:

--TO FINALLY FORMULATE THE CHANGES THAT HAVE BEEN OCCURRING IN CHINA IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, ESPECIALLY SINCE 1978, and which boil down to departing from the principles of extreme leftwing Maoism, which have been valid in China to varying extent for at least the past two decades, and to confirm this departure by a party law;

--TO COMPLETE THE WORKING OUT OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS AND IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY AND THE STATE, which have begun to be worked out in the past few years;

--TO MAP OUT THE DEVELOPMENT ROAD UP TO THE END OF THIS CENTURY.

THE MOST IMPORTANT CHANGES (whose rudiments can be found in various documents and pronouncements made in the past few years) CONCERN THE INTERNAL MATTERS OF THE PARTY AND THE COUNTRY. FAR FEWER NEW ELEMENTS CAN BE FOUND WITH REGARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, ALTHOUGH SOME SHIFTS OF ACCENT OR AT LEAST CHANGES IN THE TONE CAN BE FOUND.

The congress decided that the party's most important tasks up to the end of this century include the reorganization of the state's administrative and economic structures, raising the standards of cadres, strengthening ideological education, struggling against crime, especially economic crime, and correcting the style of party work. As can be seen, these tasks are extremely difficult to implement, especially under Chinese conditions, and the future will show how far the CPC is able to fulfill this program.

The Central Committee report read at the congress by General Secretary Hu Yaobang stated that the value of gross industrial and farm production should increase four times by the end of this century -- that is, from the present 710 billion yuan (about $400 billion) to 2.8 trillion yuan (about $1.56 trillion). The Chinese economists assume that in order to achieve that increase it is necessary to increase the annual value of production by just over 7 percent, which is a tall order although not unprecedented. However, this is far more than the increases recorded in China in the past few years.

The achievement of such increases would place China high on the world list of national incomes, even though the per capita income would still be modest compared with other countries. As Ma Hung, new chairman of the Social Sciences Academy said, the Chinese should be able to "feed themselves at a level that is not the best, but not the worst either." In any case they will feed themselves much better than now if they achieve their goal.

THE CONGRESS DECIDED THAT AGRICULTURE, ENERGY, TRANSPORTATION, EDUCATION AND SCIENCE ARE PRIORITY AREAS. THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS OF THESE AREAS WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO COMPREHENSIVELY DEVELOP THE ECONOMY, INCLUDING INDUSTRY. These priorities have been known ever since the principles of modernization were proclaimed in China. However, the development of these areas has had to be curbed because of another proclaimed priority: the modernization of the armed forces.

However, the problems of economic development involve more than just economic matters: They are related to the enormous range of social and ideological issues and to the psychological transformation of the masses. THE TIMES of London is right when it notes that INSTEAD OF PROCLAIMING MAOIST REVOLUTIONARY SLOGANS CHINA IS NOW CALLING FOR EFFORTS, KNOWLEDGE, DISCIPLINE AND ORDER -- NEW VIRTUES THAT ARE NOT EASY TO INCULCATE. The congress made many crucial decisions in this regard too.

The congress categorically stated the increase in living standards, which is the ultimate goal of economic development, can be achieved only by increasing production. For this reason it announced that the economic opening to the West would be continued, but it also warned against the ideological influences accompanying such contacts. It drew attention to those who "take delight in the shade of the trees, but do not want to plant them" and condemned "such unhealthy manifestations as personally profiteering at the cost of other people, promoting one's own interests at the cost of public interests, love of comfort, reluctance to work, preferring money to everything else and unscrupulously pursuing personal enjoyment."

The congress decisively abandoned the extreme leftwing thesis about the "continuation of class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat." It stated CHINA'S PRESENT BASIC CONTRADICTION IS THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL NEEDS OF THE MASSES AND THE BACKWARDNESS OF THE MATERIAL BASE. However, it stressed at the same time that the phenomena of class struggle will continue and that they must not be played down.

THIS IS WHY THERE IS SUCH A GREAT STRESS ON THE SPHERE OF IDEOLOGY, OR, AS THE CONGRESS STATED, ON DEVELOPING THE SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION. The shift from socialism to communism, the congress stressed, depends not only on increased prosperity, but also on constant efforts to strengthen communist consciousness. In this context the congress devoted much space to problems of social discipline and the struggle against corruption, profiteering and so on.

The congress adopted resolutions decisively condemning the personality cult and made decisions to strengthen socialist democracy. In this connection it tried to solve the problem of the succession of generations by creating a new situation -- the council of the elders who will cease to actively run the party and the state but who will put their experience and knowledge at the disposal of the younger generations. ALL THESE DECISIONS AND THE REPEATED STRESS ON THE DAMAGE INFLICTED ON THE PARTY AND THE STATE BY THE PERIOD DURING WHICH THE EXTREME LEFTWING GROUP WAS IN CHARGE OF POLITICAL LIFE ARE SUPPOSED TO ENSURE THAT THE STATE OF RETROGRESSION OF THE TYPE OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION WILL NOT RECUR IN CHINA. In order to implement these tasks the congress made many decisions to strengthen the party internally and to ensure its leading role in the country's further development. One such decision concerns the promotion up to 1985 of the campaign to improve the style of party work.

As for relations with foreign countries, the congress stressed the independence of Chinese policy and China's strong links with the Third World and expressed the hope that its relations with the West, especially with the United States and Japan, will continue. At the same time, it decidedly emphasized China's basic stand on Taiwan and sustained the familiar Maoist theses on "hegemonism." THE CONGRESS REPORT PRESERVED MANY UNJUSTIFIED CHINESE THESES WITH REGARD TO THE USSR OR VIETNAM, BUT NEVERTHELESS IT AVOIDED THE PREVIOUSLY SEVERE ANTI-SOVIET FORMULATIONS, WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN INCLUDED IN THE NEW PARTY STATUTE. The congress even envisaged a possibility for settling relations with the USSR, restating the familiar initial conditions under which this could be done. THIS MEANS THAT THERE IS SUBSTANTIALLY NOTHING NEW IN THIS REGARD, BUT THAT THERE WAS A CERTAIN CHANGE IN THE TONE. THE FUTURE WILL SHOWS WHAT THIS ADDS UP TO. Finally, statements were made on the struggle for peace -- a thing that has been unprecedented in the Chinese documents since the eighth congress. Here, too, the future will show how much this was tactics and how much a new trend.

The congress' work as a whole was not free from certain inconsistencies and paradoxes. For example, it was decided that the 12th congress was the most important congress since the 7th congress, although the latter reaffirmed that Mao Zedong and his concepts had fully conquered the party and although the 12th congress in fact referred in many of its theses to the 8th congress, which, in turn, stressed very clearly China's ties with the USSR and the socialist community, which is not consistent with the present "independent" line. [as published]

A "rejuvenation" of the leadership was talked about, but this was done to some extent in the case of the Central Committee, but the Politburo and especially its Standing Committee -- that is, the decisive centers of power -- have remained a typical "council of elders." Much was said about dispersing the power held by individuals, but Deng Xiaoping, who is member of the Politburo standing committees and chairman of the Central Committee Military Commission and of the council of elders, has retained his enormous power in every respect.

All the same, it is difficult to deny that the congress has accomplished very extensive work. It also sought the avoid "bending the stick the other way." It condemned the extreme leftwing, but was vehement in warning against liberalism and corrupting alien influences. It introduced into China entirely new democratic principles and the struggle against the personality cult, and, at the same time, worked to strengthen the party and central control over local authorities and organizations. It posed very ambitious economic tasks, but did not become exaggeratedly euphorious in this regard. It toned down the position on the issues of class struggle, but did not in any way abandon the principles of this struggle.

Compared with previous congresses -- the 9th, 10th and 11th -- the 12th congress adopted many more realistic and more original resolutions. It is also beyond doubt that the implementation of these resolutions in a country like China is a very difficult task. Only the practical implementation of these resolutions will enable us to correctly evaluate the results of the 12th congress. to get to know the true contents camouflaged by various formulations and to separate tactical elements from substantial elements. This means that we have to wait our conclusions and evaluations. However, there is no doubt that the 12th congress was an event worthy of attention in China's life.

DAILY REPORTS START OF SINO-SOVIET TALKS

AU081340 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polsih 5 Oct 82 p 7

[PAP report: "USSR-PRC talks"]

[Text] PAP correspondent Ludwik Mysak in Beijing writes: USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Leonid Ilichev has arrived in Beijing. He will represent the Soviet side in the talks on bilateral relations which are due to start in the Chinese capital. This was announced on Monday by a spokesman from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who read a single-sentence communique to correspondents saying that "in accordance with a decision made by way of consultation by the Chinese and Soviet sides, Soviet Deputy Ministry Ilichev has come to Beijing to hold a consultation with Qian Qichen, Chinese vice minister of foreign affairs, on the subject of Sino-Soviet relations."

The consultations which are now starting are the first official Soviet-Chinese talks at such a high level since January 1980, when the Chinese side suspended talks about normalizing bilateral relations which were going on at that time.

From the same sources that supplied information from Chinese circles, it also emerges that both sides have agreed to call the current contacts a consultation (and not, for example, negotiations), that they will be preliminary in nature and that their purpose will not be to reach some sort of concrete decisions, but to initiate or renew bilateral political discussion at the relatively high deputy minister level.

ANDREI ADDRESSES GROUP OF 77 IN NEW YORK

AU072010 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] United Nations, AGERPRES 7/10/1982 -- Taking the floor during the meeting in New York of the foreign ministers of the developing countries in the membership of the "Group of 77", Stefan Andrei, Romanian foreign minister, head of the Romanian delegation to the 37th session of the UN General Assembly, highlighted the importance Romania attaches to that meeting which is intended to meet the acute exigencies regarding the strengthening of the solidarity and unity of action of the developing countries. He showed that taking account of the particularly critical period the world economy is currently traversing -- the consequences of which burden the developing countries most -- it was imperatively necessary that resolute actions should be taken to agree, through international negotiations, upon efficient measures to step up the economic and social progress of the developing countries, resume the economic activity at a world scale, establish new-type interstate relations grounded on equity. Romania is firmly resolved to contribute, in close cooperation with the other countries in the "Group of 77", to the launching without delay of global negotiations on fundamental questions related to international economic cooperation the organization and unfolding of which could draw on the positive elements arising from the experience of the Law of the Sea Conference.

Showing that the general economic policy pursued by the developed countries had not taken and did not take account of the interests of the developing countries -- as demonstrated by the practice of high interest rates, the intensification and expansion of protectionist measures, the prevention and blocking of the transfer of technology, the reduction of the prices of raw materials concomitantly with the rise in the prices of manufactured products -- the Romanian chief delegate considered that the question of high interest rates should be in the focus of the economic dialogue with the developed countries, resolute measures being needed to cut down interest rates and reach international understandings that should set a ceiling on interest rates and lower levels for the developing countries.

The Romanian minister also referred to the intensification in recent years of the practices employed by the developed capitalist countries of recruiting skilled personnel from the developing countries. Taking account of the exceptional importance that question has for numerous developing countries, which make special efforts to train their own skilled personnel, he stressed the need for intensified concerns at the UN for initiating concrete international cooperation apt to contribute to the resolution of that question while full account should be taken of the interests of the developing countries.

The speaker also referred to questions related to the development of economic cooperation among the developing countries placing emphasis on Romania's contribution to the attainment of that important target which materialized, among other things, in the hosting in Bucharest this year of the meeting of high officials from the "Group of 77" countries in charge with the training of industrial personnel. The measures agreed upon during the meeting -- "the Bucharest recommendations" -- provide an adequate framework for actions to develop cooperation in a sector of particular importance for the developing countries -- national cadre training. In conditions in which the situation of the developing countries was continued to deteriorate, the Romanian foreign minister said, it is more necessary than ever before that the developing countries find and agree upon the most efficient ways of stimulating commercial, economic, technical-scientific and other cooperation among them and elaborate a joint platform of action, which should be comprehensive, unique and topical, in their negotiations with the developed countries on the establishment of the new international economic order.

U.S. ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE ENDS VISIT

AU072012 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1925 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 7/10/1982 -- Elliot Abrams, U.S. assistant secretary of state, paid a visit to Romania over October 5-7.

Elliot Abrams was received by Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and conducted talks with Maria Groza, Romanian deputy minister of foreign affairs, approaching aspects of the further development of the relations of collaboration between Romania and the USA. The interview and talks were attended by the U.S. ambassador in Bucharest, David Funderburk.

Elliot Abrams also met with Romanian professors, researchers and journalist during a roundtable held at the headquarters of the Association of International Law and International Relations (ADIRI).

During his visit the U.S. assistant secretary of state was received by Justin Moisescu, patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church, and met with heads and representatives of the other religious denominations in Romania.

ROMANIAN-CHINESE ECONOMIC TALKS IN BEIJING

AU071335 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Oct 82 p 4

[Text] Beijing 4 October (AGERPRES) -- On Monday, Paul Niculescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Union of Production Cooperatives and Consumer Goods Procurement and Marketing met in Beijing with Wan Li, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat and vice premier of the PRC State Council.

Greetings and wishes for new successes in implementing China's program of socialist construction were conveyed on the occasion to Comrade Hu Yaobang, secretary general of the CPC Central Committee, Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Expressing thanks, Vice Premier Wan Li conveyed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu friendly greetings and wishes for health and for new successes in implementing the RCP program, on behalf of comrades Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang.

In the spirit of decisions adopted at the highest level, the sides expressed the two sides' joint determination to implement the agreements designed to develop economic relations, production sharing, goods exchanges and cooperation in other areas, in the interests of both peoples. They also emphasized the importance of exchanging experience and views on cooperation.

The meeting was attended by Liu Yi, minister of commerce, Wang Houde, chairman of the Board of Directors of the All-China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives, and Romanian Ambassador to Beijing Florea Dumitrescu.

Paul Niculescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Union of Production Cooperatives and Consumer Goods Procurement and Marketing met with Chen Muhua, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee, state councillor and minister of foreign economic relations and trade. They discussed aspects of Romanian-Chinese economic cooperation.

During his visit to China, Comrade Paul Niculescu also met with Wang Houde, chairman of the Board of Directors of the All-China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives, with whom he exchanged views on the activities of the two cooperative organizations. They established measures to implement the long-term bilateral cooperation agreement between the two organizations, and on aspects of the international cooperative movement.

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

AU072015 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1933 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 7/10/1982 -- A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party opened in Bucharest on Thursday, October 7, under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary.

Upon the proposal of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, the plenary meeting unanimously adopted the following agenda:

1. The draft single national plan for the socioeconomic development of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1983.

2. The draft plan for the development of agriculture and food industry in 1983.

3. The programme for the fulfillment of the measures of self-management and self-sufficiency with a view to ensuring a better supply of the population with farmfood produce and industrial consumer goods in the last three months of 1982 and the first six months of 1983.

4. The unitary complex programme for land melioration operations.

5. The bill on the setting up of the economic development fund through the social shares held by the working people in state economic units.

6. Proposals for the convening of the national conference of the Romanian Communist Party.

7. Proposals for the re-organization of the supreme council of Romania's socioeconomic development.

8. Organizational questions.

The plenary meeting is attended, as invited guests, by first secretaries of the party county committees, ministers and executives of central institutions, heads and deputy heads of section at the CC of the RCP, vice-chairmen of the state planning committee, deputy ministers of agriculture and food industry, as well as executives of mass and public organizations, editors in chief of the leading press who are not members of the CC of the RCP.

Several participants took the floor during the debates held on the first day of the plenary meeting.

The proceedings continue.

DISCOVERY OF CRUDE OIL DEPOSIT REPORTED

AU302022 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 30 Sep 82

[Excerpt] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/9/1982 -- A white crude deposit of great economic value was discovered at a depth of 4,400 m with the help of a great-depth drilled in the vicinity of Virteju-Stoenita localities in Gorj County (southern Romania). It is a light type of crude, of reduced density, containing white products in a proportion of more than 50 per cent. The daily discharge of the well is of 135 tons of crude and 26,000 cu.m. of gas. With a view to capitalizing the deposit in the entire zone, 24 wells were put into operation and over 50 great-depth installations drill intensively. In fact, another large Romanian oil field, a new oilmen's centre, is being set up.

MILITARY EXERCISES HAVE 'DISQUIETING EFFECT'

AU071323 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Oct 82 p 1

[The "Directly" column commentary by Davor Sosic: "Sabre Rattling"]

[Text] The large naval maneuvers which were held under the code name of "Nordic Wedding" and covering an area extending from the North Sea and Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea have concluded. Assisted by air force units and marines, the giant aircraft carriers cruised the seas. It is estimated that 200,000 to 300,000 men participated in the NATO exercises.

And in Bulgaria, the joint exercises of the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries, held under the code name Shield-82, have concluded. According to the official announcements, about 60,000 soldiers participated in them. Big artillery batteries bellowed fire in these exercises as we saw in television film news programs.

War games are customary and every country has the right to prepare and hold exercises for defense against a possible aggressor. Such preparations and exercises are most often an internal affair of the country concerned. But when large scale maneuvers are held and when the equipment and men cross borders to form groups within multinational armies, then it is natural that, to say the least, such "games" have a disquieting effect. It is not in the least a comfortable feeling to listen to sabre rattling and the roar of powerful motors along one's land and sea borders.

The philosophy which claims that the balance of power between the blocs represents the only objective factor of stabilization of relations on the world scene and the indispensable condition for the policy of relaxation of tension gives the present maneuvers held under the patronage of the blocs primarily a political character which cannot but cause a certain anxiety among the multitude of the countries which do not belong to any of the bloc constellations. A reception of the sabre rattling is inherent in this philosophy, and therefore we can be certain that the joint command staffs within the two blocs are already preparing the maneuvers for 1983, 1984, 1985 and so forth.

It is difficult to precisely calculate the financial cost of these maneuvers. However, we know that, this year, the debts of developing countries will amount to $600 billion, something that will involve grave consequences both for the developing and for the industrially developed countries. If the money spent for saber rattling were invested for the economic development of the poor part of the world, the relations on the world scene would certainly become a little more stable.

MOJSOV MEETS WITH FOREIGN DIGNATARIES AT UN

Group of 77

LD080614 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2107 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] United Nations, October 7 (TANJUG) -- Developing countries have appealed to industrial countries to enable the reaching of an agreement on global negotiations at the current U.N. General Assembly session. The appeal was set forth in the majority of speeches at the regular ministerial meeting of the "Group of 77" currently underway here.

Yugoslav Federal Foreign Secretary Lazar Mojsov warned in his speech against attempts by a number of developed countries to preserve the existing relations by taking unilateral measures. Mojsov said that the bloc rivalry exposes developing countries to increased pressures. Mojsov observed that the North-South negotiations were almost completely deadlocked.

The falling prices of raw materials, expansion of favouritism, impact of inflation, and high interest rates have been conducive to a quick increase in the deficit and debts of developing countries, which, instead of using credits for economic development, have to use them to pay off debts and interest rates.

Slowing down the rate of economic growth in developing countries heightens depression in industrialized countries and directly jeopardizes the world production processes, whereas an explosive situation in the area of financing and of banking system, makes up one of the most acute manifestations of the world economic crisis.

The concept of global negotiations is the result of a growing interdependence in the world. The concept of global negotiations has been accepted by a concensus in the U.N. General Assembly and included among top priority questions, Mojsov said.

Despite all difficulties and obstacles, the struggle for the establishment of the new international economic order continues the basic strategic orientation of developing countries, Mojsov stressed.

In view of the weakening of global cooperation, open uncertainty [words indistinct] that may ensue therefrom, "Yugoslavia attributes exceptional political and economic significance to the further promotion of cooperation between the developing countries", emphasized Mojsov.

PRC'S HUANG HUA

LD071202 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1122 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] United Nations, October 7 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of China share close views on many international questions.

The conclusion is inferred from talks in the world organization headquarters between Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov and Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua.

Mojsov and Hua devoted special attention to the current session of the U.N. General Assembly. Within this context they considered the situation in Southeast Asia and [word indistinct] assessed endeavours by the countries of this region at securing full independence, territorial integrity and an autonomous development.

The [words indistinct] to the need of further efforts towards securing independence of Namibia. They underlined the role of African countries and the United Nations of the whole in these endeavours.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary informed Huang Hua [words indistinct] preparations for the seventh summit in March of next year in New Delhi, Minister Hua informed Mojsov on China's endeavours at solving open questions in relations with some neighbouring countries.

As for relations between the two friendly countries, the minister established that they are developing very favorably in all the fields, to which regular exchanges of visits and consultations on the high and top levels are a significant contribution.

Various Representatives

LD071417 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1144 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] New York, October 7 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Lazar Mojsov who is currently in New York attending the 37th U.N. General Assembly session, had a number of meetings Wednesday with prominent world politicians.

The talks dealt with current international questions, the General Assembly session and questions of bilateral relations.

Lazar Mojsov had separate meetings with the foreign ministers of Burma, Ethiopia and Nicaragua, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, and with vice president of Democratic Kampuchea charged with foreign affairs Khieu Samphan.

Mojsov also met with former U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim who is currently in New York.

ALBANIAN YOUTH CONGRESS' 'SLANDERS' ASSAILED

AU071315 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Report on article published in ZERI I RINISE, organ of the Kosovo Socialist Youth Federation: "Absurdity as a Lesson" -- no date given]

[Text] A new attack has been added recently to the anti-Yugoslav campaign long since started by Tirana. This time, serious accusations have been directed against Yugoslavia in the opening speech delivered by Lumturi Rexha, secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania [AUWY]. The Albanian youth organization's secretary repeated the entire traditional political arsenal of Enver Hoxha, which is in fact a continuation of the calumnies, slanders and accusations heard from the tribune of the Eighth AWP Congress.

What can one say about the latest attacks from the congress, unless it is that they constitute a new low on the road of inciting national hatred between the members of the young generations of the nations and nationalities in Kosovo? The secretary's theses are in profound contradiction with the policy of good-neighborliness [words indistinct] between states and peoples. But Albania's leadership and the youth congress are persistently continuing on the road of attacking our country. These inventions constitute nothing but flagrant interference in the internal affairs of a neighboring state and support for the hostile activity of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists and of all other sworn enemies of our socialist self-management in their absurd demand for the destruction of all that has been built by our nations and nationalities, including the young generation, in the revolution and in the development of our socialist self-management under Comrade Tito's leadership.

Seeking to conceal the weakness within their own state, they are using their attacks and slanders concerning Kosovo as a facade to justify themselves before their nation, which is presently subjected to the strong hand of a regime sworn to Stalinist dogmatism. We have no wish to lecture others, but we do believe that the congress of Albanian youth should have sought solutions concerning the position of the Albanian youth in the Stalin-type system prevailing in Albania, instead of lecturing others [words indistinct] in view of the hopeless situation in which the Marxism-Leninism of Enver Hoxha has placed Albania.

The youth of Kosovo need no lectures. It has been, is and will continue to be able to oppose the activity of the irredentists and of all other enemies. And this is because the activity of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists is directed primarily against the youth of Kosovo. Some hundreds of thousands of young people in elementary and secondary schools and some tens of thousands of full-time and correspondence students at the university, as well as a large number of educational and scientific institutions, which testify to the national affirmation; the newspapers, journals and original titles of books published in the Albanian language -- all this is a testimony of firm progress, a testimony of the correct policy of the LCY for full national equality, the constant enhancement of the constitutional position of the autonomous socialist provinces and of a humane stance toward the affirmation of all correct national values. This is why the morality of the Kosovar youth is the morality of daily work in the self-managing and socialist development, the morality of humanism in relations aimed to ensure coexistence, brotherhood, unity and national equality.

That which the Kosovar youth has continually made evident in its labor actions in Kosovo and all parts of the country is the best example of an unwavering determination to work for the LCY policy and Tito's revolutionary road. At the same time, it is also increasingly showing that it is self-managing, that it is an active subject and participant in the sociopolitical life and in the mechanisms of the socialist self-management political system. The youth, with its many cultural and sports activities, is expressing a high spirit of unity and togetherness. This is best illustrated by the magnificent reception and farewell given to the youth relay in Kosovo this year. The Kosovar youth showed their maturity also in the elections of 1982 when they voted [word indistinct] for the proposed delegates. Likewise, they are also welcoming with great successes their highest meetings such as the 11th Conference of the Kosovo Socialist Youth Federation, the 10th Congress of the Serbian Socialist Youth Federation, and the 9th Congress of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia.

The Kosovar youth -- Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and Turks -- indignantly reject any attack against our community of equal nationalities and nations, any call for national hatred such as those from the Albanian youth congress or any other hostile activity. The political maturity and self-awareness of most of the Kosovar youth has caused the enemies to fail in their attempt to destroy the victories of our revolution. Nothing made the Kosovar mature youth waver and no one will even achieve deceiving them. Even young people who were indoctrinated are now becoming convinced that they were badly deceived and that there is no road for better life and future other than that of self-managing socialism and togetherness. The dogmatic Stalinist ideology and all that [word indistinct] by the leadership of Albania molded with such ideology is alien and distant to our youth. The members of the nationalities and nations in Kosovo and the younger generation do not accept the lectures of whoever it may be which are not in compliance with the correct LCY policy. They advance along a secure road, and that is the road of Tito.

BULGARIAN DELEGATION ATTENDS SERBIAN SAWP MEETING

LD080322 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1724 GMT 7 Dec 82

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 Oct (TANJUG) -- The delegation of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front led by Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front and member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo, which is in our country as a guest of the SAWPY Federal Conference, today visited the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Serbia. In a cordial and open conversation, the two delegations led by Vukoje Bulatovic, president of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Serbia, and Pencho Kubadinski exchanged information on the activities of the two organizations. Special attention was paid to the questions of border cooperation.

PLANINC, SMOLE MEET AMERICAN JOURNALISTS

LD071606 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Oct (TANJUG) -- At noon today in the Palace of the Federation Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council received a group of editors, commentators and reporters of American newspapers and radio and television stations. After an introduction in which she acquainted the distinguished American journalists with the present situation in the development of the sociopolitical system and the economic situation in the country, Milka Planinc answered their questions. In the conversation, which lasted 90 minutes, the American journalists were acquainted with the efforts to overcome the present economic difficulties and to promote economic relations with foreign countries.

Expressing interest in the stabilization measures, the journalists also asked for a more detailed interpretation of Yugoslavia's present indebtedness abroad. More extensive information about this was given by Janko Smole, member of the Federal Executive Council.

The conversation also dealt with Yugoslavia's activity in international life as a nonaligned country. In this respect, the journalists were able to get a detailed picture of Yugoslavia's present activity and of efforts to preserve the original principles of nonalignment, including also preparations for the seventh summit meeting.

Some American commentators showed special interest in the projects which should enable the Yugoslav economy to find more outlets to world markets in cordial cooperation with foreign partners. In this connection, special attention was paid in the conversation to the question of trust and obligations which Yugoslavia has toward foreign countries. The Yugoslav side stated that all liabilities due this or next year will be met. It was emphasized that today the whole world is faced with certain economic and financial difficulties and that for this reason Yugoslavia wants to see the preservation of financial discipline and the fulfillment of all obligations facing the government and the country in this respect. Priority will therefore be given to the payment of foreign debts.

The American journalist especially insisted on the elements of bilateral cooperation and put several questions in this connection. The Yugoslav side emphasized that Yugoslav-American relations include talks on all questions regardless of whether agreement, identity or similarity of views or even differences exist. The talks are approached with confidence which should be further promoted because this is the mutual interest.

The U.S. journalists also expressed interest in the development of the situation is Kosovo and in Yugoslavia's relations with other countries.

LCY PRESIDIUM MEETS, DISCUSSES RECENT CC SESSION

LD061510 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatin 0932 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Text] Belgrade 6 Oct (TANJUG) -- At its session yesterday the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee discussed and laid down immediate tasks regarding the implementation of the conclusions of the third session of the LCY Central Committee.

Proceeding from the responsibility of the Presidium to the Central Committee and from the need to implement consistently and responsibly the conclusions, the Presidium decided to put into operation the specific tasks inherent in the conclusions. The task of the organs and bodies of the Presidium and the Central Committee, as well as of those of the LCY delegations and representatives in the organs and organizations of the federation were given their concrete form. Central Committee and Presidium members will become particularly involved in the work of LC organizations in the organs and organizations of the federation with a view to implement more consistently the conclusions, change the present state of affairs and to efficiently implement the constitutional and legal foundations of these organs and organizations.

The Presidium stresses that all LC organs and organizations in all work collectives and sociopolitical communities, and in all environments and at all levels should, as quickly as possible, work out their concrete programs and launch an action to implement the tasks stemming from the conclusions pertaining to them. They should also simultaneously ensure the implementation of the conclusions as a whole along the lines seeking the higher growth of exports, the ensuring of our country's foreign liquidity, overall economy, reduction of expenditure, intensification of responsibility by all social factors, further development of socialist self-management and implementation of the policy of economic stabilization as a whole. In this significant social action action the broadest possible mobilization of all forces must be carried out and full responsibility of all organs, organizations and individuals for the consistent and immediate implementation of the agreed policy and tasks must be observed.

The Presidium will constantly coordinate, encourage and monitor the implementation of the task which will be most effective when done in a uniform, consistent and concrete manner.

The Presidium discussed the report on the preparations for the Ninth Congress of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions and stressed the need for LC members to participate actively in the political preparations for the congress. It was also stressed that the complexity and the serious nature of our socio-economic situation require exceptional activity on the part of the trade unions which, as a mass organization of the working class, should, as efficiently as possible, implement its responsible social role by relying on the readiness of the workers to fulfill their commitments in the struggle for the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization and further development of socialist self-management.

Members of the Presidium of the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions attended this part of the session.

The standing orders about the organization and method of work of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, which will be discussed at the next session of the LCY Central Committee, were adopted at the session today.

The Presidium discussed and approved the report of the LCY delegation on their recent visit to, and talks with, the leadership of the Portuguese Communist Party. The report was submitted by Ali Sukrija, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

The Presidium also discussed some other questions pertaining to its current activity.

STOJANOVIC REJECTS CHARGES OF DISUNITY IN LCY

AU071728 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] A 2-day conference of Vojvodina journalists called Vojvodina Journalism Days opened in Kikinda today. The gathering of about 200 journalists was addressed by Nikola Stojanovic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who among other things pointed out that when it is a matter of ideopolitical unity on the basis of strategic questions of the development of the revolution one cannot speak about disunity in the League of Communists. Our correspondent Rajko Popovic reports:

It is neither correct nor socially useful to identify individual views with forums, republics, provinces or communes. On the basis of selected individual views one cannot build a thesis about disunity in the League of Communists, Nikola Stojanovic said. In the discussion at the third session of the LCY Central Committee, the views and approaches differed, but the conclusions were adopted unanimously.

Some information media, Stojanovic added, often single out views which are not accepted and which contrast with what has been concluded at a session, and on this basis create the impression of disunity. On the basis of various views of individuals we cannot speak of disunity and a conflict among the republics. Whom does this benefit? Stojanovic asked.

Further in his speech Stojanovic spoke about the spread of the thesis about a clash of centers of power, as if the information media were on one side and the League of Communists on the other, or as if it was a matter of a conflict between the politicians and journalists. It suits some people to make all sorts of (?trouble) and to set some against others, although from the viewpoint of the League of Communists policy we all work on the same ideological front.

The fact that some information media in some cases published reports which were not in harmony with the interests of the workers class is a matter for democratic discussion and assessment, but not at all a matter for attacking the journalists. Stojanovic then said that any objective analysis would show that exceptionally great results have been achieved in the field of developing and implementing the constitutional function of information media. It would also show, Stojanovic stressed, that occurrences of departures from the line of the self-managing course of development of our society are getting more noticeable in some information media. It is no accident that various anti-self-managing and opposition forces and individuals have dropped their demands for their own organs since we offer them space in our information media.

Speaking about the development plan for the coming year, Nikola Stojanovic particularly stressed that the commissions of the federal social councils have provided answers to many open questions. These commissions, he said, are composed of teams of scientific workers who took up their work on a completely voluntary basis and are making an important contribution to finding the best solutions for a way out of the present situation.

Party Expulsions Analyzed

AU071419 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Sep 82 p 2

[Ivan Torov commentary: "Warning of a Practice"]

[Excerpts] The intensification of political activity, which began under the pressure of the current economic problems, increased phenomena of double-faced behavior and violations of constitutionality, legality and norms of socialist morality, has unavoidably brought to the surface the constantly topical (and most frequently neglected) problem -- who is responsible in this society?

We will try to illustrate this with an example which is not unknown and which we have recently again heard at a session of the Central Committee Presidium of the Leage of Communists of Serbia. Velimir Matic, member of this party organ, a man who for years has been dealing with the statutory problems, has cited the following data:

If we measure the intensification of responsibility in the League of Communists by means of the pronounced ideopolitical measures, then it can be concluded that recently, this means at least in 1981, this intensification of responsibility has been on an enviable level. For instance, last year, 1,580 members of the League of Communists were expelled from the League of Communists of Serbia, and this is considerably more than in the preceding years.

Nonetheless, all the truth is not in this bare figure. Nearly 45 percent of members were expelled for not respecting the traditional statutory obligations: For not attending regular meetings, for not paying membership fees and the like. Only 17.8 percent of the members lost their party cards for not respecting the policy and positions of the League of Communists and for expressing alien views.

Now comes the most interesting and, at the same time, the saddest fact: the most numerous category of those expelled are workers, 41 percent of those expelled. Together with them it is necessary to add also 10 percent of farmers. This means that a half of those expelled are those who, viewed objectively -- not neglecting at all their sins and mistakes, although they are of another nature -- are not the basic causes of the negative phenomena in the society and of not implementing the party policy.

Matic further said that "in the statutory organs of the League of Communists we almost have no example of someone being expelled from the party for not respecting self-managing principles, the illegal increase of prices or for, let us say, inactivity."

KONCAR CONTROVERSY DEBATED BY BELGRADE COMMITTEE

AU061416 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1657 3 Oct 82 pp 15, 17

[Milan Milosevic article: "Denouements: Anatomy of a Resignation"]

[Text] At the very time when the last issue of NIN was being closed for printing, the Belgrade City Committee of the League of Communists opened an extensive public discussion about Rade Koncar's resignation. For the next 7 hours in the hall at the Studentski Square, a difficult analysis was in progress: not an analysis of Koncar's moral character which is not disputed, but an analysis of the real and potential meaning of what he has said and of the meaning of his actions which proved to be very disputable indeed.

Following a series of stormy discussions with Rade Koncar, the City Committee Presidium concluded that he himself had been excluded from the City Committee not as a result of the congress' rejection of his amendment but because, "with an elitist conviction that he alone was responsible for the country's fate," he had striven to impose his views upon the entire Belgrade party leadership and because he had made claims that are contrary to the LCY policy.

This characterization is illustrated by the appraisal that Koncar "has included himself in a spontaneous process of dramatizing the situation in the society and has indirectly disputed the basic values of his society, the federal foundations."

Members of the City Committee were informed that, in the talks at the City Committee Presidium, Koncar negated the need for the existence of the socialist republics in Yugoslavia.

Explaining his resignation, Koncar rejected the labels attached to him and said that, in the talks, he did not measure every single one of his words. He claimed that with his resignation he did not intend to play a leader or savior or anything similar "that the political officials and mannequins [maneken] attribute to me."

Key Is Called Federalism

He outlined his view of the crisis and illustrated it with a series of details that are known to everyone: the economic relations between the production and income based producers are being broken; the efforts to work out a satisfactory and mutually coordinated program of sectors of the economy have been unsuccessful; and so on and so forth. According to Koncar's appraisal, as a result of an increased federalism, the League of Communists is incapable of discussing these vital issues quickly and effectively. In recent years, the elements of federalism have been intensified in the LCY and they have resulted in strengthening disintegrative tendencies at all levels of the society. In his opinion, the organization of the LCY is based exclusively on territorial principle, something which places the main emphasis on what is national and what is state and not what is of a class and self-managing character.

The economic decisions are a result of the political compromises between the eight states and the result of these compromises are the ineffective measures of economic policy and ineffective solutions pertaining to the system, the measures and solutions from which neither the class nor the nation derive any benefits. Koncar believes that the League of Communists has failed to take the necessary action to more resolutely move toward restraining bureaucracy and statehood at all levels, that thus eight states have grown as a result of disowning one and that now, under the pressure of economic problems, we are restoring some partial authority to this one state and tolerate the measures of its restrictive economic policy.

" I am not against the statehood and against the republics but I am against a statehood which hinders self-management and undermines the unity of our common states, the SFRY," Koncar said in explaining his resignation and he rejected the claims that unitarianist and technocratic deliberations are apparent in his advocacy.

At the beginning of the session, Koncar precisely stated that he is in favor of the unity of the LCY which will not be under the infuence of groups or individuals in the individual territories. As the further discussion showed, the concept outlined in this manner nevertheless included certain internal contradictions. Prvoslav Ralic, who explained the views of the City Committee Presidium whose member he is, was the first to call attention to them. He concluded that Koncar is really testing the readiness of the City Committee to accept his, Koncar's, view of the current social situation, a view aimed at questioning the individual decisions of the 12th LCY Congress.

Make no mistake: Many speakers in the discussion did not deny the fact that many of the problems discussed by Koncar do exist. Ratomir Vico even listed some 20 congress speakers who had spoken before Koncar and spoken more sharply and thoroughly than he about responsibility, federalism in the League of Communists, quicker changes of cadres and the blockade of the political system.

That was a series of very clear explanations with a clear message: There will be no room for any kind of deliberations about a centralist unitarianist restoration. There can be no discussion about that alternative. The message was obviously addressed to those to whom such a possibility might seem acceptable as well as to those who might suspect that Belgrade has perhaps moved toward the unitarianist paths and certainly to those who are indirectly or directly imputing that Belgrade is once again showing its unitarianist face.

There Can Be No Coexistence With Unitarianism

And the 12th congress as well as the [Serbian] republican congress this session will be probably remembered [sentence as published]. Koncar asked to speak for the second time. Bypassing the list of speakers, the president of the session gave him the floor immediately. A number of those present, including this reporter, believed that Koncar would perhaps nevertheless "move aside" and provide the "crowning evidence" that the sharp criticism nevertheless did not concern him.

At that particular moment, there was no objective political need to remove Koncar from the leadership. It is true, the sharp edge of the discussion held up to that moment did bite into the contradictions of his testimony but it was clear that the target was not Koncar but the effort to draw a bold line which would show to everyone that there can be no place for any coexistence with the unitarianist ideas.

Koncar, however, mounted the speaker's rostrum and said that he was contradictory. He, Koncar, had nothing against the constitutional position of the republics and provinces but he could not accept the republican and provincial Leagues of Communists.

"Excuse me, comrades, do not hold it against me -- hold me responsible -- but I do not accept that.... I do not agree with the federalization of the party in any of its forms," he resolutely stated.

Thus, he made a completely definite and undifferentiated political statement whose meaning could no longer be doubted. In his explanation, he repeated his appraisals of the arbitrariness of the republican centers and claimed that, in all republican and provincial communities, an atmosphere prevails in which no one from outside is allowed to interfere. He said that he had wanted to propose that a request be made through LCY delegates to hold a general party discussion about the unity of the party and the unity of Yugoslavia but that now he was refraining from making that request, noting disappointedly that "the time is probably not ripe for that."

This was a painful clarification. Koncar could only add that he agreed that he was emotional, that he was rash and perhaps stubborn but that he did not agree to two things: That he was an enemy and that he was stupid; "and I would be stupid if I believed that I could change anything on my own without all others." Thus, together with his statement that he would carry out the party decisions in a disciplined manner, Koncar gave his word that he would not allow the enemies of the League of Communists to use him as a standard bearer.

Thus everything was virtually concluded. Only one more member asked to speak and then President Ivan Stambolic spoke in conclusion to sum up the political consequences of this discussion. He noted that now it was clearer that at the beginning of the sessions that in all this a unitarianist -- Stambolic said -- unitarianist-Stalinist concept has been offered.

The Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia also made the appraisal that Koncar developed a unitarianist concept.

The question really is whether the epilogue could have been really and objectively different if, at the session, Koncar renounced his views. He, however, continued to be carried away by his views and crossed the line beyond which there can be no discussions in the LCY. He is fascinated by the idea of the party unity but that idea is obviously outside this period: It is contradicted by half a century of experience of the LCY and its views before, during and after the revolution.

It is human nature in a crisis to reach for old ideas. Koncar is fascinated by an obsolete concept of the party. As Koncar himself has said, he has paid for this fascination by losing his political and personal reputation.

The labels uttered in the heat of political discussion perhaps should not have been uttered, both when Koncar shared them and when they were addressed to him. After all, these emotional reactions (in the halls where everything was discussed as well as outside) have always accompanied such discussions. They are partly a folkloristic characteristic and partly an indication of an inability to use precise definitions.

Nevertheless, the essence is in the fact that there are noticeable differences in the critical appraisals of the current situation. The great differences have also come to light: Koncar's united party and the unity in the LCY are obviously two very different ideas.

LC IN SERBIA ISSUES WARNINGS, ACTS AGAINST JUDGES

AU071414 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Oct 82 p 3

[Z. Juka report]

[Excerpt] Novi Pazar, (Serbia) 3 Oct -- The Novi Pazar Communal Committee Presidium of the League of Communists has unanimously decided that an ideopolitical measures, a final warning, should be taken against Zdravko Roglic, president of the Communal Court of Novi Pazar, so as to make it possible to overcome the difficult situation in this court. The presidum proposed to the communal assembly to dismiss him from the position as president of the communal court. Ismet Pelahu, judge at this court, was given a final warning as an ideopolitical measure and it was also proposed to the communal assembly to dismiss him from the position of judge. Final warnings were also issued to judges Miodrag Veljkovic, Mahmut Memic and Nedzib Ukic, whereas the ideopolitical measure of a warning was issued to Rodoljub Marinkovic, Refik Retahovic and Camil Ubic.

The presidum has also decided that Rodoljub Marinkovic be dismissed from his position as secretary of the basic LCY organization at the communal court, that all members of the secretariat of the basic organization of the League of Communists also be dismissed, and that a new secretariat be elected.